



Alignment MKs meet yesterday morning with President Chaim Herzog. From left to right: Yitzhak Peretz, Haim Bar-Lev, Moshe Shahal, Herzog, Dov Zakai, Shulamit Aloni, and Uzi Baran.



In the afternoon it is the turn of Likud Knesset delegation. From left to right: Dan Tichon, Yigal Cohen, Ronnie Milo, David Levy, Herzog, and (back to camera) Sara Doron, Pessah Crapper, and Eitan Livni.

## Alignment, Likud see Herzog

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Representatives of the Likud, headed by Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, yesterday brought documents to President Chaim Herzog as evidence that Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir has the support of 64 MKs for forming a new government.

Earlier in the day, Alignment MKs headed by parliamentary faction chief Moshe Shahal told Herzog that if he asked Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres to form a government, Peres would succeed

in winning the support of "70 to 75 MKs."

Spending his 65th birthday consulting with the two largest Knesset factions, Herzog seemed to be on the horns of a dilemma whom to ask to form a government. Last week, upon receipt of Prime Minister Menachem Begin's letter of resignation, Herzog said that he would call on the person who had the "best chance" of winning the confidence of the Knesset.

The president's decision will apparently depend on what the smaller parties — the National Religious

Party, Agudat Yisrael, Tami, and the one-man factions — recommend when they call on him today and tomorrow.

Meeting reporters after a 55-minute session with Herzog in the afternoon, Levy asserted confidently that the Likud has a "solid base" of support. "This of course makes it easier for the president to cut short the time it will take to form a government," he added. Claims by the Alignment that they can muster a majority behind Peres were "based merely on suppositions."

(Continued on back page)

## Only 'vital interests' can draw Israel into Lebanese fighting

By DAVID LANDAU  
and HIRSH GOODMAN  
Jerusalem Post Correspondents

Israel intends to avoid becoming involved in the fighting in Lebanon unless its vital security interests are directly threatened.

The Israel Defence Forces have been carefully refraining from actions that might be construed as provocations of the various hostile forces in the Lebanese arena. The U.S. has

not asked Israel for any action or intervention by the IDF, according to highly placed Israeli sources.

A threat to Israel's "vital security interests" that could trigger an IDF response could come from two quarters.

First, the PLO may attempt to re-establish itself north of the Israel line at the Awali River with a view to penetrating southwards and hitting at Galilee or at IDF units in South Lebanon.

Several senior officials reiterated yesterday that Israel, in withdrawing to the Awali, had in no way renounced or limited its war against the PLO in Lebanon — whenever the PLO was considered a threat to Israeli personnel, military or civilian.

The Israeli officials denied, however, a report by *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton that the IDF is planning a pre-emptive strike against the PLO north of the Awali. They said Mid-

dleton may have been led to form that opinion on the grounds that strong armoured IDF patrols have been ranging northwards from the Awali, especially along the coastal highway.

These patrols, the officials explained, were indeed intended as anti-PLO operations, designed to ensure that the terrorists do not establish themselves close to IDF lines. But the patrols do not prestage a large-scale pre-emptive action.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Jemayel asserts outsiders prevent political solution

WASHINGTON. — A political solution to the Lebanese problem is possible and the government in Beirut is working in that direction, President Amin Jemayel said yesterday.

The Maronite Christian president said he could foresee a political solution by sharing power with the Shi'ite Muslims and the leftist Druse. "They are part of the nation," he said.

Interviewed on American television by satellite, Jemayel said "If I sat with (leftist Druse leader) Walid Jumblatt face to face, we would get an agreement in five minutes. I know that. I am willing to meet him."

But, he said, that kind of a meeting was not possible "because others are behind Jumblatt... it is clear that the Syrians are behind his forces."

Asked about the likelihood of deeper involvement by the U.S. Marines in Lebanon and whether he thought the Marines would fight alongside the Lebanese army, Jemayel said "I don't think that will

be necessary. We are pushing a political initiative for a political agreement."

But currently, he said "nobody is talking about the withdrawal of the Syrians or the Israelis from Lebanon. Everyone is concentrated on the fighting."

Meanwhile, Libyan leader Mu'amar Gaddafi has put Libyan troops at the disposal of the Syrian armed forces and of Druse militiamen fighting the Lebanese government, the official Libyan news agency Jana reported yesterday.

And in the Baddawi refugee camp in northern Lebanon, Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat said yesterday his terrorists were present in Lebanon's Shouf Mountains but that those fighting the Lebanese army alongside anti-government Druse militiamen were not doing so officially.

"No doubt, some Palestinians, some volunteers, will participate, you can't prevent that," Arafat said. (AP, Reuters)

## Lebanese war rages as rebels hit Byblos

BEIRUT. — Heavy fighting between the Lebanese Army and Druse insurgents in the central mountains entered its third week yesterday, as Syria ordered its forces to retaliate for any further shelling by U.S. ships.

Artillery in Syrian-held North Lebanon hit the Christian port town of Byblos, 38 kilometres north of Beirut, for the first time in the current fighting, as well as East Beirut neighbourhoods. Police said at least 16 civilians were killed and 42 wounded as dozens of shells and rockets destroyed cars and buses and damaged buildings.

The three remaining Hawker Hunter jets of Lebanon's air force continued strafing and rocket attacks on the Syrian-backed Druse militiamen and their Palestinian allies near Suk al-Gharb and on a string of gun emplacements from which the anti-government forces had shelled army positions around Beirut, a Lebanese Army spokesman said.

In one raid just after midday the

planes destroyed an anti-aircraft base and a concentration of armed men behind Suk al-Gharb, he added.

Anti-government forces said they had bombed the Lebanese air force's makeshift airfield on the coast road north of Beirut yesterday and made it unusable.

A spokesman in Damascus for the National Salvation Front, a coalition of pro-Syrian opposition politicians, said its forces had attacked the airfield near Byblos in response to raids launched by the air force in the last three days.

The airfield's runway had been destroyed, the spokesman said.

Eyewitnesses in the Byblos area said rockets landed close to the airfield yesterday, and state-run Beirut Radio said five people had been killed. The radio said the rocket fire came from the coastal village of Kafr Abdeida, just inside Syrian-held territory.

Military experts said that pro-Syrian militias were trying to help

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Labour Party tries to fan the dying flames

The Labour Party's prospects of forming a new government seemed poor yesterday, although party spokesmen declared their chairman Shimon Peres could form a coalition if President Chaim Herzog invites him to do so. The spokesmen said Peres could form a coalition comprising 70 members in the 120-member Knesset but that seemed to portray a good deal of wishful thinking.

Labour's statements that it could form a broad-based government — compared with the Likud's proposed

coalition of only 64 members — appeared to be geared mainly to the president's statement that the person with the best prospects of forming a government will be invited to do so.

Earlier Labourites insisted they should be allowed to try their hand first because they represent the largest faction — 50 MKs compared with the Likud's 46.

At the moment, their main goal is to win the nod. In private talks some Labour leaders said they doubted they would.

The Likud's candidate Yitzhak Shamir has an advantage because representatives of the National Religious Party, Agudat Yisrael, Tami, Tehiya, Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat, former Minister Yigal Hurvitz and MK Rabbi Haim Druckman agreed to form a coalition with the Likud. That gives Shamir a majority of 64 members. (Six of these have said they would support Shamir in a vote of confidence only if he makes a genuine effort to co-opt Labour in a

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Arens urges Druse to quit Suk al-Gharb

By MICHAEL EILAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Defence Minister Moshe Arens last night warned the Lebanese Druse that they "have no business" in the Suk al-Gharb area where they are fighting the Lebanese Army.

He said he could understand the Druse anxiety to protect their homes and villages. But there is a big difference, he said, between protecting their villages and fighting with Palestinians against the Lebanese Army in Suk al-Gharb. The battle over the devastated former Lebanese resort town east of the capital is "an attempt to seize the gates of Beirut," he added.

The minister was speaking at a Herut Party forum for economic and political affairs at the Jerusalem Laromme Hotel. The dinner was organized to raise funds for Jerusalem mayoral candidate Shlomo Toussis-Cohen.

A large part of Arens' address concerned the opposition to the war inside Israel, which he said creates the impression abroad that the Israel Defence Forces has lost its motivation and will to fight. Arens said he had asked himself whether the constant criticism of the Lebanese war was "rational, or a form of national masochism."

David Rudge reports from Haifa: Former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said last night that "The

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## Lubrani, Levy differ over Shouf

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT  
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Uri Lubrani, the government's coordinator of Lebanese Affairs, said yesterday he and his colleagues had not expected the terrorists to return to the Shouf Mountains, as fast and as forcefully as they did following the Israeli withdrawal to the Awali River line.

"Not I nor my friends took into account a terrorist involvement so fast and so massive in such a short

period," he told the Israeli-American Chamber of Commerce and Industry here.

Observers suggested Lubrani's statement indicated insufficient communication or a difference of perception between the military and the civilian arms of the defence establishment.

In an interview broadcast over Israel Television on Saturday night, Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy said, "The developments, as they occurred, had to my regret, been

expected... As to the terrorists, and the Syrian influence as well, these factors, to my regret, were not taken into consideration, or not sufficiently absorbed before our redeployment when everybody was talking about redeployment... perhaps it was not convenient to grasp that this redeployment would have a price in this respect, but even in public I had more than one occasion to say that the reinforcement and return of the terrorists and the

(Continued on back page)

## Levy to chair cabinet until new gov't formed

By DAVID LANDAU  
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Deputy Premier David Levy is expected to continue chairing cabinet meetings until a new government is constituted, assuming Prime Minister Menachem Begin's health does not permit him to resume attending the meetings.

Levy chaired yesterday's session for the second week running, at Begin's request, and cabinet sources said it was "logical" for him to continue doing so.

The meetings of the smaller ministerial defence committee, of which Levy is not a member, are being chaired by Defence Minister Moshe Nissim, also at Begin's request.

Yesterday's full cabinet session was declared a meeting of the defence committee, and ministers heard reports on the situation in Lebanon from Arens and the head of military intelligence, Aluf Ehud Barak.

The rumour last week over Levy's job-definition was referred to by Levy himself at yesterday's meeting. He professed to be aggrieved at the criticism — some of it from his cabinet colleagues — aroused by his *Moked* TV statement that the powers of the premiership had been "transferred" to him "according to the law."

He insisted that he had not said on TV, and certainly not meant, that he had taken over Begin's powers.

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, who in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, was the first and most forthright of Levy's critics, took the floor yesterday to explain the legal position. The law, he said, provided for a transfer of prime-ministerial powers when a prime minister is absent abroad or temporarily incapable of fulfilling his duties. That is not the case with premier Begin today, Nissim said. Begin is fulfilling his duties despite the medical problems that were keeping him home-bound.

An aide to Arens stressed to *The Post* last night that even though Levy is not a member of the defence committee, he need only contact Arens at any time to be briefed.

## Surprise appointment: Shomron to head Ground Forces

By HIRSH GOODMAN  
Post Defence Correspondent

Aluf Dan Shomron has been named OC Ground Forces Command, effective today.

Shomron has been without an active command since he completed his tour of duty as OC Southern Command in early 1982, after which he went abroad to study. He will be the first full-time commander of the newly established Ground Forces Command, the position until now having been held by Aluf Moshe Bar-Kochbi, who doubled as OC Armour.

Shomron's appointment was received with some surprise, since it was well known that Chief-of-Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy opposed his getting a senior position within the general staff.

Shomron was one of the main contenders for the post of chief of staff, enjoying the support of former defence minister Ariel Sharon, when Rafael Eitan completed his term some six months ago.

Levy was reported at the time as being against having either Shomron or Avigdor Ben-Gal, the former OC Northern Command,

under him, since he felt that they would be too independent.

It is understood that Shomron's appointment was pushed through by Defence Minister Moshe Arens who was eager not to lose a talented general. The minister apparently felt that the position as head of the Ground Forces Command was sufficiently ill-defined as to give Shomron the opportunity to handle things as he wants without trespassing on the authority of the chief of staff.

Shomron's main field of specialization is in the paratroops, but he has done all senior-level armoured courses. He will also bring with him experience in the command of coordinated forces — the basic philosophy behind the Ground Forces Command —



Aluf Dan Shomron

gained while he was OC Southern Command.

He played no role in the Lebanon War, not being assigned any active command, though he returned to Israel from studies in the U.S.

Shomron was born in Kibbutz Ashdot Ya'acov in 1937. In 1974 he was appointed chief paratroop and infantry officer and in that capacity he commanded the operation on July 4, 1976, to rescue the passengers of the hijacked Air France plane from Entebbe, Uganda.

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AMSTERDAM	9	15	Cloudy
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### THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to fair

Jerusalem	5-15	25
Golan	18-28	28
Nahariya	19-29	29
Safed	18-25	26
Haifa Port	23-29	29
Tiberias	21-34	34
Nazareth	20-28	29
Afula	21-30	31
Shomron	20-28	28
Tel Aviv	21-29	29
B-G Airport	21-29	30
Jericho	21-35	36
Gaza	22-28	28
Beer Sheva	19-30	31
Eilat	24-36	36

### ARRIVALS

Victor Carter, honorary chairman of the board of governors of Tel Aviv University, and Mrs. Carter, for a visit.

## Shultz congratulates Shamir on selection

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has congratulated Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir on his selection by the Herut central committee as the party's candidate for the premiership.

The secretary of state also sent Shamir two greetings for the High Holidays, something Foreign Ministry officials in Jerusalem interpret as tokens of the improvement of relations between the two countries over the past few months. In past years, secretaries of state sent only one such cable.

In the first cable, sent on September 7, Shultz wrote: "The turning of the New Year is always a time of anticipation. In our case, I would like to add an expectation that we will further reinforce the bonds which link our two governments and peoples."

Shultz went on to congratulate Shamir on "election by the Herut Party."

In a cable sent on September 16, on the eve of Yom Kippur, Shultz wrote: "Before the shofar is blown once more, signalling that Yom Kippur has ended, I would like to express to you my best wishes. This solemn occasion also provides me the opportunity to reaffirm the American commitment to Israeli security and wellbeing."

### ARENS

(Continued from Page One) Israel Defence Forces should step up patrols north of the Avari River to prevent the re-entry of terrorists into the evacuated area, but should not attempt to re-occupy the land."

Sharon, speaking at a Herut Party rally in Haifa, said the multinational force should strengthen its line around Beirut to ensure that terrorists do not re-establish themselves in the city. During his speech, Sharon reiterated his criticism of the Kahane Commission inquiry into the Sabra and Shatilla massacres.

Sharon caused a near riot when in reply to a reporter's question whether he thought the Lebanon War had been worthwhile, he mentioned that the reporter was from the left-wing *Al Hanishar* newspaper. That caused an eruption among the Herut supporters and it took several moments before the chairman of the meeting, Likud MK Meir Cohen-Avidov, was able to restore order.

## URGENT APPEAL

We appeal to the community at large on behalf of a prominent young man stricken with a rare disease. This father of eleven children is in need of extensive medical care, while currently unable to support his considerable family. Medical necessity also requires his immediate removal to proper accommodations. This dire situation and its unbearable financial burden move us to appeal to YOU.

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Prof. Yehuda Helevy  
Technological High School, Jerusalem

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3. Bank Hapo'alim, branch no. 533, acc. no. 54303.

## HOME NEWS

# Police break up protest over Shatilla massacre

By MICHAEL EILAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Police used considerable force yesterday to break up a small demonstration staged by Palestinians and Israelis in Jerusalem to mark the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatilla massacres in Beirut.

At the same time, many shops in East Jerusalem were closed, but it was not clear whether a business strike had been called. Because it was Sunday, Christian shops were closed; and the Muslim festival of Id al-Adha was under way.

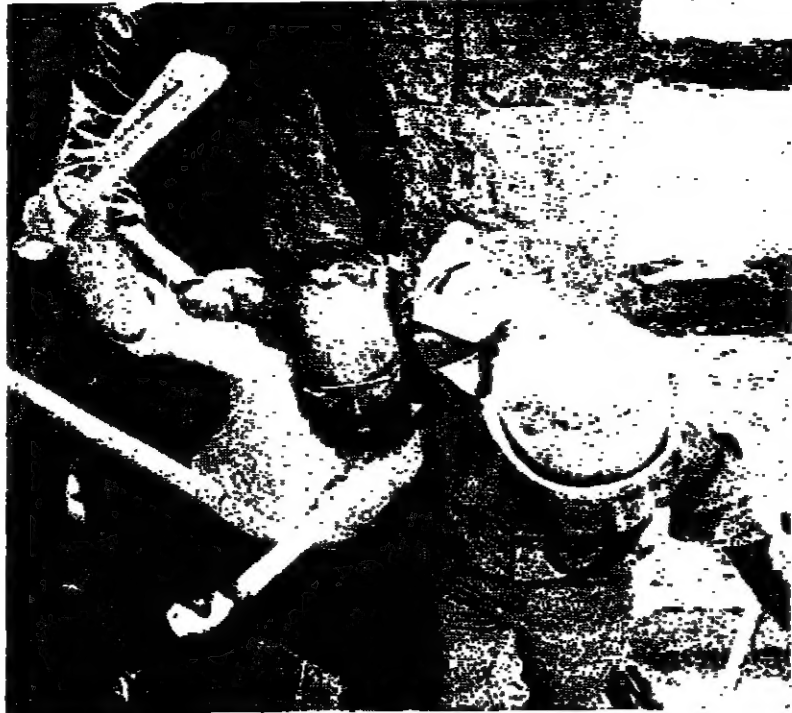
The unauthorized demonstration was staged at the north-east corner of Jerusalem's Old City. It was organized by "Palestinian National bodies" who invited the Israeli Committee Against the War in Lebanon to join in.

At about 11:30 p.m. nine jeeps loaded with police and Border Police arrived at the scene with a wailing siren. The demonstrators were given one minute to disperse, and then police charged them.

Police said 24 persons were arrested as they rounded up the crowd with their batons. There was only passive resistance by demonstrators who sat on the ground.

Nitzav Yehoshua Caspi, Southern District police commander, who arrived on the scene after the demonstration was broken up, denied suggestions that more than usual force had been used to disperse the crowd. Although the one-minute warning to disperse is far less than police usually give, he said, "We dealt with this as we deal with every illegal demonstration."

Shortly after Caspi left, two stones were thrown from the corner of the Old City walls overlooking



Police in Jerusalem's Old City yesterday take away one of the demonstrators marking the anniversary of the Sabra and Shatilla massacres.

the site of the demonstration. One border policeman suffered a scratch on his face, the police spokesman said. Police then fired two tear-gas canisters over the wall.

Several hours after the demonstration all 24 persons arrested were released. Police said there were seven Israelis, four citizens from the U.S. and France, and the rest were Arabs.

Police also said that they used tear gas after stones were thrown from Herod's gate. Persons on top of the gate had raised the Palestinian flag.

On the West Bank, sporadic unrest was reported from various places as Palestinians responded to calls to mark the anniversary of the massacres.

The centre of Nablus was placed under curfew, as was the Dehaishe Refugee Camp outside Bethlehem, after stone-throwing incidents. Stone-throwing was also reported from Jenin where several Palestinian flags were raised. Anti-Israeli slogans were painted on walls in El-Birch.

Security forces investigating the Friday night grenade attack in

Hebron in which four local residents were injured have found no evidence to support claims from local Jewish settlers that the grenade had been thrown at them. One local youth who is said to be mentally retarded has been detained in connection with the incident.

In the north and the Little Triangle, disturbances were reported yesterday in several Arab localities.

In Baka al-Gharbiyeh in the Little Triangle, youths first unfurled a Palestinian flag, then stoned the police station and chanted anti-Israel slogans. Police arrested 10 residents.

Three Egged buses making their way from Hadera to Baka al-Gharbiyeh were stoned, and two suspects in the incidents were arrested.

In the north, 16 people were arrested for disturbing the peace. An assembly in Nazareth commemorating the massacres drew 1,500 participants, both Arabs and Jews. It was organized by the Committee Against the War in Lebanon.

The anniversary also caused additional tension in Beirut. Palestinian notables from the refugee camps there who arrived in South Lebanon yesterday told of Phalangists entering the camps, firing into the air, and beating refugees.

The notables added that they had asked the U.S. Embassy in Beirut to grant immigration visas to Palestinian refugees. Maj. Sa'ad Haddad, commander of the South Lebanon militia, had also been asked to allow Palestinian refugees from the Beirut area to settle in South Lebanon.

### BYBLOS

(Continued from Page One) their allies around Suk el-Gharb by putting the airfield out of action.

The anti-government forces, mainly Syrian-backed Druse militiamen, have been trying to drive the army out of Suk el-Gharb for almost a fortnight. The Lebanese regulars have held their ground, but their counter-attacks have had only limited success.

U.S. Marine spokesman Maj. Robert Jordan denied local Lebanese radio reports that U.S. Navy F-14 Tomcats had scrambled from the U.S. carrier *Eisenhower* off the Beirut coast to chase Syrian MIG fighters over central Lebanon.

"They were up on routine reconnaissance flights," said Jordan. He said Alpha Company of the U.S. Marine contingent serving with the Multinational Force took sporadic small arms fire overnight at its base in the Beirut International Airport. He said the Marines shot back with small arms. There were no injuries in the exchanges, Jordan added.

In an interview with French television, President Amin Jemayel said Palestinian terrorists trying to regain a foothold in Lebanon were his army's main enemy.

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, who has been visiting his men in the North Lebanese port of Tripoli,

confirmed that some Palestinians not necessarily PLO regulars, were helping the Druse.

A commander in the anti-Arafat branch of the PLO also told reporters in the eastern Bekaa Valley that his organization had some 500 fighters in the Druse-held Shouf Mountains.

A Lebanese army communique broadcast by Beirut Radio yesterday said Lebanese troops had killed a number of Palestinians in fighting around Kaifoun, east of Suk el-Gharb. It listed four names but said there were other Palestinian bodies, without identity cards.

Two members of a British television news crew were wounded by shrapnel yesterday in Lebanon's central mountains.

Sebastian Rich, 30, of Ilington, suffered two shrapnel wounds in the stomach. Another member of the crew, Richard Rose, 28, of London, suffered a slight shrapnel wound in the shoulder.

Independent Television Network correspondent Brent Saddler said he, Rich and Rose were travelling in a Lebanese Army armoured personnel carrier between Suk el-Gharb and Kaifoun, the scene of heavy fighting between the army and Druse militiamen, when the vehicle was hit by a shell. (AP, Reuters)

### VITAL INTERESTS

(Continued from Page One) So far, there has been no contact between these patrols and any hostile forces.

Second, Syrian escalation could directly endanger Israel's position. A military spokesman in Jerusalem warned yesterday that Israel would "not tolerate any Syrian intervention on the ground or in the air" in the fighting in Lebanon.

Defence Minister Moshe Arens has apparently come under much pressure, including from within the cabinet, and not only from former

defence minister Ariel Sharon, to take a less passive view of events in Lebanon. Pressure is also coming from Phalangists and some very senior people within the defence establishment who are demanding that Israel not abandon Amin Jemayel's government, or the Lebanese Forces.

Arens, however, remains adamant that only a direct threat to Israel's immediate security interests will spark the IDF into military action. He is determined, according to his aides, to keep Israel out of the conflict.

### Moviemakers to seek U.S.-Israel cooperation

Almost 300 American film directors, producers and other movie personalities are to meet in Los Angeles today to discuss ways to foster cooperation with the movie industry in Israel.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Industry and Trade said that the

meeting is a result of intensive efforts by the Israel economic consul in the western U.S. and the Israel trade mission in New York.

Four American films are to be made here in the coming months, including the screen version of John Le Carré's *The Little Drummer Girl*.

### Ammunition explodes outside Haifa

HAIFA. — A series of explosions shook homes in the Sha'ar Aliya quarter on the western outskirts of the city yesterday afternoon when a brush fire ignited a cache of ammunition at a disused army camp. Nobody was hurt but a window in

a nearby building was cracked as several bullets and possibly a hand grenade were detonated by the heat, the police reported. Nearby roads were closed to traffic for 45 minutes until firemen extinguished the blaze.

# Parties get advance payment for their campaign expenses

By AARON SITTNER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Interior Ministry yesterday approved payment orders amounting to IS320 million for candidates and parties entered in the October 25 municipal elections.

The payments constitute a 60 per cent advance on the IS530m. allocated under the Parties Financing Law passed by the Knesset before it rose for its summer recess on July 27. The balance of the state funding will come in two more stages: another 25 per cent when the election results are gazetted, and the final 15 per cent if and when the State Comptroller issues a "favourable report," attesting that the candidate or party did not contravene any provisions of the law.

The law also authorizes the Knesset Finance Committee to allocate an additional IS150,000 per local authority (there are 145 such).

Parties that compete in mayoralty

run-offs will receive additional funding in an amount equal to their original allocation.

Elections Commissioner Meir Shoham told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday: "As we feared, many problems surfaced Thursday night as the deadline for filing electoral lists approached. Several candidates or factions filed late (beyond the 9 p.m. deadline), and other lists were challenged by our workers on other grounds as well."

"I can already see dozens of separate legal proceedings in the offing, and we shall do our best to clear the boards soon, so that we will have an orderly election day."

The High Court of Justice is scheduled to hear arguments today on the petitions of Yael Rom, independent Haifa mayoralty candidate, and her associated municipal council list ("The Right Road for Haifa") which were disqualified on technical grounds.

## Officer acquitted of brutality charge

By DAVID RICHARDSON  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Aluf-Mishne Ya'acov Hartabi, a former military commander of the West Bank, was acquitted last night of all charges relating to incidents last year in Hebron where local Arab residents were harassed and maltreated.

He was facing disciplinary proceedings before the Deputy Chief of Staff, Aluf David Ivri.

Last week Hartabi was acquitted of two charges — issuing illegal

orders and conduct unbecoming an officer — was delayed a week to enable him to bring witnesses in his defence.

The acquittal surprised observers in the military government, since the Central District Military Court in Jaffa, during the trial last February of several soldiers accused of similar offences arising out of the same incidents, found that Hartabi's orders were "blatantly illegal."

No reason for the acquittal has yet been published.

## Frenchman 'didn't know' PLO used him

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A 26-year-old Frenchman told the district court here yesterday that when he photographed the Shalom Tower five years ago, he did not know the pictures were meant to help the Palestine Liberation Organization plan a bombing.

Henri Eicholtzer submitted a written deposition in which he admitted most of the charges and expressed regret, saying he never imagined he was involved in a plot to kill innocent people.

Eicholtzer is accused of being recruited by the PLO in Libya in 1978 and travelling here to photograph the 36-storey building and other possible bombing targets.

His lawyer, Roland Roth, told the court he challenged its right to try Eicholtzer, arguing that the offences were committed before Israeli law was amended to list terrorist organizations among belligerent parties with whom contact is a crime.

## Soviet Jews to be theme for Christians

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Some 4,000 Christians, from 40 different countries are expected for the International Christian Embassy's fifth annual Feast of Tabernacles celebration that this year will be devoted to the theme of Soviet Jewry.

The Succot gathering this year will include groups from Nigeria, Singapore and Indonesia, according to a spokesman of the Christian Embassy in Jerusalem that sponsors the gathering as a symbol of solidarity

with Israel and the Jewish people. Planned events include a march through the streets of the capital with banners that demonstrators used in their home countries for protests on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

Also scheduled is a procession from the Mount of Olives, a celebration at Sultan's Pool — to which Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir has been invited, and a "biblical dinner" at Qumran. There will also be the premiere of an American film, *Lebanon and the Middle East, the Untold Story*.

## Israeli Druse visit Shouf brothers

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — A delegation of Israeli Druse notables last week visited the Shouf and met Lebanese Druse leaders.

The Israelis said they saw no Palestinian or Syrian troops fighting alongside the Druse. They visited the village of Baaklin, overlooking the besieged Christian town of Deir al-Kamar.

The notables said that dozens of young Druse from Israeli-occupied parts of Lebanon have gone to the Shouf to fight alongside their co-religionists.

Mohammed Ghamal of Yarka, in the Galilee, said that while in Lebanon, he saw a letter signed by Lebanese Druse leader Walid Jumblatt ordering his forces not to allow Syrian and PLO troops to enter the Shouf.

Meanwhile, the chairman of the Usfiya local council on the Carmel has asked the head of the local Civil Guard to issue arms permits to Christians living in the area.

The request was made following the grenade attack in Usfiya on a Christian building. There are 500 Christians in the town, which has 7,000 Druse.

## Druse leader Arslan dies at 79

BEIRUT (Reuters). — Majid Arslan, a prominent Druse leader and Lebanon's first defence minister, died yesterday after a long illness. He was 79.

Arslan and his family represented the right wing of Lebanon's 250,000-strong Druse community, in opposition to the dominant leftist Jumblatt clan.

Like all male members of his ancient family, Majid Arslan bore the

title "Prince," a relic of Lebanon's feudal past.

He became the first defence minister of independent Lebanon in 1943 and held the same portfolio on three other occasions in the 1960s and early 1970s.

For 40 years, from 1943 until his death, he represented the mountain town of Aley in the Lebanese parliament.

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**MIRIAM WEISS** מרים

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Children: Mrs. Tova Reich, Chevy Chase, Maryland  
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Brother: Rabbi Dr. David Weiss, Toronto, Canada  
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**LEON SZNAJDERMAN** ליון

and expresses sincere condolences to

Clara Szajderman

Hon. Life Member of World Wizo and former President of WIZO Venezuela

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**ICKO LEIB (Leon) SZNAJDERMAN**

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The funeral was held on the day after Yom Kippur, September 18, 1983 (Tishre 11, 5744).

His wife: Clara  
Sons and daughter: Harry, Dora, Semi, grandchildren, brothers, sister and their families.

Shiva at the Szajderman residence, 12 Ma'ale Ha'oren, Motza Ilit, Jerusalem.  
Tel. 02-541646.

מקדון השכל



## Burg in favour of new autonomy talks

By AARON SITTNER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Now is the time to resume the Palestinian autonomy talks, Minister of Interior Yosef Burg, head of the Israeli negotiating team, declared yesterday.

Speaking to a large group of mayors from West Bank and Gaza Strip cities and towns at an Id al-Adha (Feast of the Sacrifice) reception in his office, Burg said: "When we see what is occurring to the north (in Lebanon), it behooves us to try again — and harder — to work out an arrangement for Arabs and Jews to live together here peacefully. After all, we have one God and the same grandfather."

"As chairman of the Israeli autonomy negotiating team, I can assure you that what we intend for you is maximum self-rule. We have no desire to meddle in your religious, welfare, educational, cultural or labour affairs. I cannot over-emphasize my belief that the time is ripe for resumption of the autonomy talks."

"I am disappointed at statements

attributed to Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali, charging Israel with not living up to the peace agreement with his country. Did we renege on our withdrawal from Sinai and its vital oil resources?"

Speaking through an interpreter, Burg also told the mayors that he hoped the renewal of the Id al-Adha celebrations after a gap of several years heralded the beginning of a dialogue between him and Arab leaders in the administered areas.

He added: "I am getting on in years — almost 75 years old — and know a little about life. I tell you that Arab-Jewish co-existence is definitely possible. If we succeed in establishing autonomy, we shall have built a bridge to the future and the credit for engineering a lasting peace between our two people's shall be ours."

Replying for the guests, Jenin Mayor Shihab al-Sanouri said: "Id al-Adha is after all the holiday of sacrifice. Perhaps that should teach us that if we sacrifice a bit we shall attain the longed-for peace between Jew and Arab."



Interior Minister Yosef Burg greets notables from the territories at an Id al-Adha reception in Jerusalem. (Rahamim Israeli).

## Rishon situation 'shocks' Education Ministry head

Jerusalem Post Staff

The director-general of the Education Ministry, Eliezer Shmueli, yesterday paid a surprise visit to the schools embroiled in the reform controversy in Rishon LeZion, and expressed his "shock" that teachers and parents are involving children in a struggle that is "illegal, anti-educational and against good citizenship."

Shmueli noted that 850 of the 1,500 seventh-graders who are supposed to enter the new junior high schools have done so. He discovered, however, that the principals of several elementary schools had taken in seventh-graders against his explicit instructions.

At the Ein Hakoreh School, the acting principal refused to accompany Shmueli on a tour of the classrooms.

He told the principals of the elementary schools violating ministry orders that "this is an unprecedented act in the school

system, and I will not put up with it."

Shmueli warned elementary school principals not to accept seventh-graders, but the principals replied they cannot send children out on the streets. If parents send their children to the elementary schools instead of the junior highs, the director-general also said, the seventh-grade classes at the elementary schools will not be recognized by the ministry.

Reacting to Shmueli's charges, the Histadrut Teachers' Union accused him of "intimidating teachers by means of verbal violence," and of "violating the norms of acceptable behaviour."

Meanwhile, a municipality spokesman said the city will not compromise and will fight for full implementation of the reform. He said more classrooms will be closed to make it more difficult to hold "illegal" seventh-grade classes in the elementary schools.



A mourner reflects at the Mount Herzl Military Cemetery in Jerusalem yesterday. Memorial services were held at military cemeteries throughout the country for the fallen in the Yom Kippur War. The main ceremony in Jerusalem was addressed by Deputy Prime Minister David Levy. (Harari)

## Kollek, parents in shouting match over meals

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

Nothing was resolved at a stormy meeting yesterday between Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek and a delegation of parents of the capital's mentally and physically handicapped children.

The parents were protesting against the cancellation of hot meals at special-education schools. Municipal spokesman Rafi Davara stepped outside city hall to confront an angry crowd of demonstrators.

Four among them were invited to the mayor's office.

Upset by the demonstration, Kolek told the delegation that it had come to the wrong address. He disclaimed all responsibility for feeding handicapped children, maintaining that the municipality is dependent on the Ministries of Interior and Education.

Kolek was supported by his education officer Tamar Eshel. In the midst of the violent verbal in-

terchange, during which neither side would give way, Kolek stormed out of the office, leaving Eshel to settle the issue.

Before losing his temper, Kolek offered to match half of any amount allocated by the Education Ministry towards the continuation of hot meals. According to Eshel, the ministry is prepared to make available \$2.6 million. The total hot-meals budget for the Jerusalem district is around \$7 million.

## Diabetics being helped through pregnancies

By MARGERY GREENFELD

Four diabetic women are now approaching the end of pregnancies that have so far been free of the complications that frequently occur in such pregnancies, thanks to a new programme combining the use of an artificial pancreas with a computerized insulin pump.

The programme, the first of its kind in Israel, was developed at a special unit at Bikur Holim Hospital in Jerusalem, set up in cooperation with the hospital's unit for pregnancy disorders and its metabolic-endocrinological unit.

The new unit uses sophisticated bioelectronic equipment to maintain the crucial balance of insulin in the body. Thus far the four pregnant women have not suffered from high blood pressure, toxemia, the development of abnormally large fetuses or any of the other complications which commonly plague the pregnancies of diabetic women, Bikur Holim director Prof. Shlomo Stern said yesterday.

In the first stage of treatment, the women are connected to an artificial pancreas for at least 24 hours, during which the level of in-

sulin present at various times of the day is precisely measured.

The women are then fitted with small portable insulin pumps that contain a tiny computer. The insulin pump is worn 24 hours a day and maintains an optimal level of insulin in the body, according to the instructions of the computer. Using the information gleaned from the artificial pancreas, the computer is programmed to constantly monitor insulin levels and to automatically order the injection of precise amounts of insulin to maintain a proper balance.

## Monthly road-safety day set in Eilat

By LIOA MORIEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA — Negov region police spokesman Samuel Shem-Tov announced yesterday that Eilat police will hold a day-long campaign every month to prevent road accidents.

The recent accident in Eilat, in which four people were killed and 15 injured on Rosh Hashana, although not directly the occasion for the new patrols, nevertheless is on the mind of every policeman in

town, Shem-Tov said.

Last week, Eilat Traffic Day was held for the first time. Schoolchildren and volunteers handed out informative flyers, while police patrolling the town issued 160 traffic tickets.

Ten per cent of the violations were so serious that the cars were pulled off the road until extensive repairs were made. Eight drivers were ticketed for speeding.

## Two soldiers steal candy on Yom Kippur

BEERSHEBA (Itim) — Yom Kippur left a bad taste in the mouths of two young soldiers who police said were caught feasting on stolen sweets.

The two conscripts, who were in detention at a military police base near here, were given permission to go to a synagogue to pray. Instead,

they broke into the warehouse of a large candy company, and stole a carton of sweets valued at \$3,000, touching off a security alarm in the process, police said.

The search led back to the MP base, where the two soldiers were caught in the act of eating the stolen sweets, police said.

## Funds needed urgently for heart surgery

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA — The Iris Fund, which was set up several weeks ago to help 17-year-old Iris Kariak go to Houston, Texas, for a heart operation not available in Israel, is in trouble.

The cost of the operation, the stay and the flight for Iris and her parents is \$30,000, but to date only \$2,000 have been collected. Iris is scheduled for surgery on September 26.

Those wishing to contribute to the fund, or those who can help put Iris in touch with Jewish families in Houston who can put her up while recuperating, are asked to get in touch quickly with the Iris Fund, Merhavim Regional Council, D.N. Negev, 85140.

Donations can be made directly to the fund through Bank Leumi's central branch in Beersheba, account number 53823/65.

## 2,167 immigrants in August; most since 1980

Jerusalem Post Reporter

For the first time since March 1980, more than 2,000 immigrants arrived in Israel in a single month. A total of 2,167 immigrants came to Israel in August, 587 more than in August 1982.

Of the total, 1,605 came from the West last month, as compared with 1,239 in August 1982. During the first eight months of this year, 7,841 Western immigrants arrived, according to the Jewish Agency's aliya department.

But aliya from the Soviet Union

has nearly come to a halt, with only 32 immigrants reaching Israel last month. Aliya from Rumania is also down, with 685 arriving so far this year, as compared with 705 during the first eight months of 1982.

UNITY — A solidarity parade of Diaspora Jewry and a conference of Jewish intellectuals have been proposed as two events to mark Israel's 36th anniversary of independence, whose theme will be the "Unity of Israel."

## Herzog commuted term on 'humanitarian basis'

By ROBERT ROSENBERG and JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Justice Ministry officials yesterday explained the commutation of West Bank settler's jail sentence, saying that the man's father is on his deathbed, and anyway the year-long sentence was near its end.

Arye Bar-Yosef was sentenced to jail after wounding an Arab child during a shooting spree in Hebron last Purim. President Chaim Herzog commuted the sentence of the 26-year-old Kach activist after the man's mother informed the Justice Ministry that his father was soon to undergo a major operation that he may not survive.

A Justice Ministry statement issued yesterday described Bar-Yosef's crime as "serious," but added that often in the past, the president, on the ministry's recommen-

dation, has shortened sentences for humanitarian reasons for "even more serious crimes."

Ministry sources said that although the president cannot on his own commute a sentence, he does have discretion on whether to accept the ministry recommendations.

Herzog commuted the sentence by three months, and ministry sources pointed out that the convict's good behaviour in jail would have anyway resulted in his freedom in six weeks time.

The ministry source denied that political considerations had anything to do with the decision to accede to the request of the Bar-Yosef family, enabling him to fly to France to be at his father's side. According to the ministry statement, furloughs from jail are conditional on the prisoner not leaving the country.

## Meshel blasts government on \$3b. in black capital

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — A bitter attack on the government — "for failing to collect honest taxes from all persons, thus forcing wage-earners to pay more than their share" — was made yesterday by Yeroham Meshel, secretary-general of the Histadrut.

Meshel, who was addressing the Histadrut's central committee, noted that he had been fighting for the imposition of "honest taxes" for the past six years, but to little avail.

"The Bank of Israel says that only \$3 billion (\$183b.) of black capital — which was created by the failure to pay honest taxes — is floating around in Israel today," he said, ad-

ding that in his opinion and in the opinion of others, the sum is much higher.

The result of the government's failure to enforce the tax laws allowed certain social strata "to get rich quick" at a time when the gap between the rich and poor is steadily widening.

"Wage-earners have their taxes deducted at source, and thus, they must pay honest taxes," Meshel said. He said that tax dodgers are not only getting rich, but that they are wasting the country's national resources since they throw the money around like mad, indulging in luxuries which the state could not afford.

## Mexican Jewish leader lauds prelate

By HADM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The visit to Israel of Mexico's Ernesto Cardinal Corripio Ahumada is especially significant for the Mexican Jewish Community, a Mexican Jewish leader said.

Luis Himelfarb, president of the Mexican B'nai B'rith Interfaith Commission said that the cardinal whose diocese, with almost 80 million believers, is the largest in the world, is especially concerned about Jewish-Christian understanding.

Cardinal Corripio Ahumada brought with him a copy of the cloth image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which is held sacred in Mexico. Before coming to Jerusalem, the image was blessed by the pope. With the cardinal is a delegation of church leaders and 200 pilgrims, some of whom went deeply into debt to make the journey.

The visit is being given daily coverage by Mexican television. Today the cardinal is slated to visit Yed Vashem.



Ernesto Cardinal Corripio Ahumada. (Rahamim Israeli)

## Grenade tied to door

NETANYA (Itim) — An elderly couple discovered a grenade tied to their threshold when they opened the door of their apartment here Saturday morning.

The couple called the police and a sapper subsequently neutralized the device, which was of army origin. Police said that the incident was linked to a business matter and that they have arrested two suspects.



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Miss New York, Vanessa Williams, was crowned Miss America on Saturday night, becoming the first black woman to win the title in the 60-year history of the contest. Her first runner-up, Miss New Jersey, Suzanne Charles, is also a black. Williams is a third-year student majoring in musical theatre at Syracuse University. (UPI telephoto).

## Gromyko cancellation tied to embarrassment

NEW YORK (Reuters). — American officials at the UN said Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko may have called off his visit to the General Assembly because he feared embarrassment over the South Korean airliner disaster.

Gromyko, who was due to attend next week's assembly session, cancelled the trip Saturday after the state governors of New York and New Jersey refused permission for his plane to land at civilian airports in protest at the shooting down of the airliner by the Soviet Union.

The U.S. government said he could fly into a military base instead. But the official Soviet news agency TASS accused Washington of violating its UN obligations and failing to guarantee Gromyko's safety or the servicing of his plane. The State Department said Saturday that the U.S. government was

fully prepared to guarantee the Soviet foreign minister's safety and the servicing of his aircraft. "We do not see the reason for the (Gromyko) decision," it said in a statement.

However, one U.S. official at the UN said: "We think that Moscow did not want him to suffer embarrassment following three set backs already in Madrid, the UN Security Council and the International Civil Aviation Organization."

Meanwhile, Western diplomats said Gromyko's decision to cancel his trip signalled a further deterioration in U.S.-Soviet relations. They said the absence of Gromyko, a veteran UN hand who has attended every General Assembly session since he became foreign minister 27 years ago, was intended as a sign of extreme Soviet displeasure.

## Japanese terrorists active in Lebanon

TOKYO (Reuters). — Japan's Red Army leftist radicals, wanted by police around the world for a string of terror raids, are operating with the Palestinian terrorists in Lebanon, a Japanese newspaper reported yesterday.

The mass-circulation *Yomiuri Shimbun* quoted the faction's 37-year-old woman leader, Fusako Shigenobu, as saying the radicals were still pursuing terrorist activities.

It said Shigenobu was interviewed by a Japanese freelance

photographer, Ryuichi Hior Hirokawa, in eastern Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

The Red Army's whereabouts was a mystery after it was forced to withdraw from Beirut along with Palestinian terrorists as a result of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June last year.

The Red Army has been held responsible for a series of terrorist attacks around the world since 1970, including the Ben-Gurion airport massacre in 1972.

## Mother watches sons die in desert

CAMOWEAL, Australia (Reuters). — A pregnant mother lost in the Australian outback tried to breastfeed her two sons, aged eight and seven, in a desperate attempt to keep them alive, but the boys died in her arms only hours before rescuers arrived.

Her husband said she also dug with her bare hands in a dry river bed and used urine-soaked sand to try to save the children from dehydration during the five-day ordeal in a remote part of the arid Northern Territory.

Brian Fitzpatrick told reporters on Saturday at the home of his parents-in-law here that his wife Doreen wrapped the dead boys in her skirt and buried them in shallow graves just before police and trackers found her on Thursday night.

Nine Poles divert airplane to West Berlin (AP). — Nine Poles diverted a single-engine biplane to the West on Saturday and said that Soviet fighter planes followed them nearly 160 kilometres before they landed at a U.S. military airport in West Berlin, police said.

The refugees, who asked for asylum in the West, said their craft was followed almost their entire

He said Mrs. Fitzpatrick had set off for a mountain fishing trip from Mittiebah Station a week ago yesterday — her 29th birthday — with their sons Dean and David, her brother, Michael Neade, and Neade's girlfriend Lee-Anne Chungaloo.

All the tires on their four-wheel drive vehicle were punctured and they started walking. They had very little water and when Neade became sick, Fitzpatrick took the boys to try to find more. Later Neade and his girlfriend tried to follow, but they veered off Fitzpatrick's trail and were eventually found walking out of the scrub on Tuesday.

Fitzpatrick said it was a miracle his wife had survived with their unborn child — "she was only hours from death when the searchers found her."

## Woman carries scissors in stomach 20 years

MIAMI (AP). — A 54-year-old maid who had a pair of 15-centimetre metal scissors in her stomach for more than 20 years has been awarded \$135,000 in a lawsuit filed against the gynecologist who left them there during an operation.

"Oh, I feel pretty good, there's no question about that," Elizabeth Collier said after the Dade Circuit Court jury's decision Friday. "I still have back pains, but it's not as bad as it used to be."

Collier endured occasional bleeding, frequent spasms and recurring back pains during the 20 years the surgical scissors sat in her stomach.

## Sudan attacked over wildlife poaching

NAIROBI (AP). — An East African-based conservation group yesterday sharply attacked the Sudanese government for failing to stop the slaughter of elephants and rhinoceroses in the southern half of the country.

"In the brief span of years since 1976, white rhinos have been virtually exterminated and tens of thousands of elephants have been killed by indiscriminate poaching gangs armed with automatic weapons," the Animal Research and Conservation Centre of Nairobi charged.

Efforts to persuade Sudan to act against poachers and end "blatant abuses of international regulations" have failed, said the centre state-

ment, signed by David Western and Esmond Bradley Martin, chairman and vice-chairman respectively. Ivory from elephants illegally shot in the Central African Republic and Zaire is smuggled into Sudan, then "legalized" and exported by well-connected traders, it claimed.

More than a third of ivory exports to Hongkong and Japan, which account for 80 per cent of the world market, now arrive from Sudan and neighbouring countries, the statement said.

An estimated 10,000 to 20,000 elephants are being hunted down in southern Sudan every year and herd densities have been halved since an elephant population of 134,000 was estimated in 1976, according to a

## Bush in Bucharest for 24-hour visit

BUCHAREST (AP). — U.S. Vice-President George Bush arrived here yesterday for a 24-hour visit expected to focus on improving trade between the U.S. and Rumania.

At a luncheon hosted by Rumania's First Vice-President Gheorghe Radulescu, Bush deviated from prepared remarks to stress America's willingness to negotiate with the Soviets at the Geneva talks on reducing nuclear missiles.

He vowed that the U.S. will continue arms talks with the Soviet Union for "as long as it is necessary to achieve the reductions that all mankind really, truly wants."

Rumania was the fifth stop on Bush's seven-nation tour, which ends Wednesday in Austria. In Belgrade he promised Yugoslav leaders U.S. assistance to help that non-aligned Communist country out of its economic crisis.

## Afghan planes bomb Pakistan

ISLAMABAD (Reuters). — Seven Afghan MiG-21 fighter jets flew into Pakistan yesterday and bombed a village near the border, killing one man and injuring another. Radio Pakistan reported.

The planes dropped more than eight bombs on a village near Farachinar, a town west of the northwest frontier province capital of Peshawar, it said.

The state radio gave no reason for the bombing but said Pakistan would protest to the UN about the incident.

"The radio said the seven jets crossed into Pakistan at 9:40 a.m. local time. Four aircraft dropped bombs while three provided cover."

The bombing was the most serious Afghan violation of Pakistan's border since Afghan helicopter gunships attacked two buses, two villages and a frontier post inside Pakistan in December 1981.

## Historian says Mao may have had brain disease

NEW YORK (Reuters). — Mao Tse-tung's final years were marked by a "devillish change" in the Chinese leader which some of his close aides say was caused by a brain disease, according to historian Theodore White.

In an article entitled "China After the Terror" in the October issue of *Reader's Digest*, White says Mao was believed to be suffering from Alzheimer's Disease, a brain disorder which causes dementia.

He also said he was told by others close to Mao that the late Chinese communist chairman suffered from "repeated tiny strokes" beginning in 1959.

## Gandhi assures scientists India has no bomb

NEW DELHI (AP). — Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi yesterday assured world energy experts that India does not have a nuclear weapon.

In an address to the opening ceremony of the 12th congress of the World Energy Conference, Gandhi said India's nuclear programme "is prompted not by military objectives but by developmental necessity," stressing that "we are opposed to nuclear weapons and do not have one."

India exploded a nuclear device in 1974 and has since said its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes only.

The conference was overshadowed by the pullout of U.S. Energy Secretary Donald Hodel, who refused to attend because India denied visas to Israeli delegates.

## Singapore interest in match-making

SINGAPORE (Reuters). — Singapore's search for a computerized match-making system to persuade its women university graduates to marry and have children has spread to Britain, the English-language *Sunday Times* reported yesterday.

The newspaper said the Singapore government had asked one of its diplomats in London to try out a big computerized introduction bureau "all in the line of duty."

It described the diplomat as a 30-year-old bachelor, a tall, dark and handsome Chinese "willing to do his bit for Singapore."

The number of northern white rhinos has decreased to an estimated 168 in 1980 from roughly 400 in 1977, but it quoted researchers as saying that an aerial census to confirm the figure has not been attempted in recent years because of guerrilla fighting in southern Sudan.

Government control in southern Sudan has been intermittently challenged by groups of the predominantly black, Christian southerners opposed to domination by the Moslem Arab north.

## Sports

### White Sox win

NEW YORK (AP). — Harold Baines knocked in the winning run with a sacrifice fly in the bottom of the ninth inning, his third RBI of the game, as the Chicago White Sox beat the Seattle Mariners 4-3 on Saturday night to clinch their first American League West Division Championship.

The victory secured the White Sox of a berth in the American League playoffs against the winners of the East Division. It marks the first appearance by the White Sox in a league playoff since the playoffs were instituted in 1969.

National League East Division				
	W	L	Pct.	Gb
Philadelphia	78	70	.527	—
Pittsburgh	75	72	.514	2 1/2
Montreal	73	74	.497	4 1/2
St. Louis	66	82	.446	12
Chicago	61	87	.412	17
West Division				
	W	L	Pct.	Gb
Los Angeles	85	66	.561	3 1/2
Atlanta	81	70	.534	7 1/2
Houston	77	70	.524	7 3/4
San Diego	74	74	.500	11
San Francisco	70	78	.473	15
Cincinnati	68	80	.459	17

Saturday's Games  
Chicago 7, New York 6; San Diego 2, Atlanta 1; Philadelphia 4, St. Louis 1; San Francisco 4, Los Angeles 1; Houston 4, Cincinnati 3; Pittsburgh 5, Montreal 4, 13 innings.

American League East Division				
	W	L	Pct.	Gb
Baltimore	80	66	.546	—
Detroit	82	64	.562	7
New York	82	68	.547	10
Toronto	79	69	.534	12
Milwaukee	72	77	.483	19 1/2
Boston	65	82	.443	25 1/2
Cleveland	55	92	.374	32 1/2
West Division				
	W	L	Pct.	Gb
Chicago	88	60	.595	—
Kansas City	71	75	.486	16
Texas	70	79	.470	18 1/2
Oakland	68	82	.453	21
California	65	82	.443	22 1/2
Minnesota	55	92	.374	32 1/2
Seattle	55	92	.374	32 1/2

\* Clashed Division title  
Saturday's games  
Toronto 13, Minnesota 3; Boston 3, Detroit 2; Baltimore 5, Milwaukee 4; Cleveland 7, New York 6; Kansas City 10, Oakland 1; Chicago 4, Seattle 3; Texas 5, California 2.

## Great tennis for Israel

By JACK LEON  
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The 25 direct entries accepted for the Israel Tennis Centre's fifth Grand Prix Classic at Ramat Hasharon next month are all among the top 200 singles players in the world on the ATP computer, making this the highest-quality entry to date in the series. The October 10 to 13 tournament, worth a record \$88,500 in prize money, marks the ITC's return to the pro-circuit after last year's scheduled meet was called off because of the war in Lebanon. The sponsors are Bank Leumi, Coca Cola, Elite and Gali.

Israeli tennis champion Shlomo Glickstein — currently 31st in the world standings — heads the seedings, followed by Switzerland's Heinz Günthardt, who is just one place lower on the ATP computer, ITC executive director Ian Froman told *The Jerusalem Post*. Another big attraction will be American wonder boy Aaron Krickstein, 16, who, a fortnight ago, beat his famed compatriot Vitas Gerulaitis at Flushing Meadows, to become the youngest-ever male player to reach the fourth round of the U.S. Open. Seeded fifth is England's former Rhodesian star Colin Dowdswell, making a sentimental return to Ramat Hasharon after winning the ITC's inaugural tournament there in 1976.

## Lisa triumphs

TOKYO (Reuters). — Unseeded American teenager Lisa Bonder capped a giant-killing run yesterday by beating the world's third-ranked player Andrea Jaeger 6-2 5-7 6-1 to win the Queen's Grand Prix Tennis Tournament.

Jaeger, 18, was the fourth seeded player to lose to the 17-year-old Bonder, who collected \$40,000 for his first big tournament win since turning professional last year.

Her other victims were Americans Chris Evert Lloyd, the title favourite, third-seeded Kathy Horvath and Beth Herr, the seventh seed.

"This is my first big tournament and so I don't know how to describe my feelings," Bonder said. She said she was worried when Jaeger threw away points in the first set in protest against line-calls.

"It bothered me because I didn't know what was going on. She started to give away points but I wanted to win on my own merits," Bonder added.

Jaeger complained about bad line calls in both the first and third sets. She said that in the second set she went for quick winners instead of the empty baseline rallies because the hard court made her knees hurt. But she lost her concentration in the second game of the final set due to mother bad call, she said.

In Irving, Texas, Ecuador's Andrea Gomez needed only 54 minutes to eliminate past-champion Sandy Mayer of the United States 6-1, 6-2 in the 320,000 Paine Webber Classic at the Los Colinas Sports Club.

In the other semi-final, Brian Tischer, U.S., overcame his countryman Scott Davis 6-4, 3-6, 6-3.

**Aussies' bad luck**  
NEWPORT, Rhode Island (AP). — Dying wind forced abandonment of Saturday's third race of the nationally certain victory for hard-luck defender "Australia II" over U.S. "Liberty."

Shipper John Bertram's "Australia II," looking like the underdog, was supposed to be, was almost six minutes ahead on the final lap signalling expiration of the race time limit of 15 minutes.

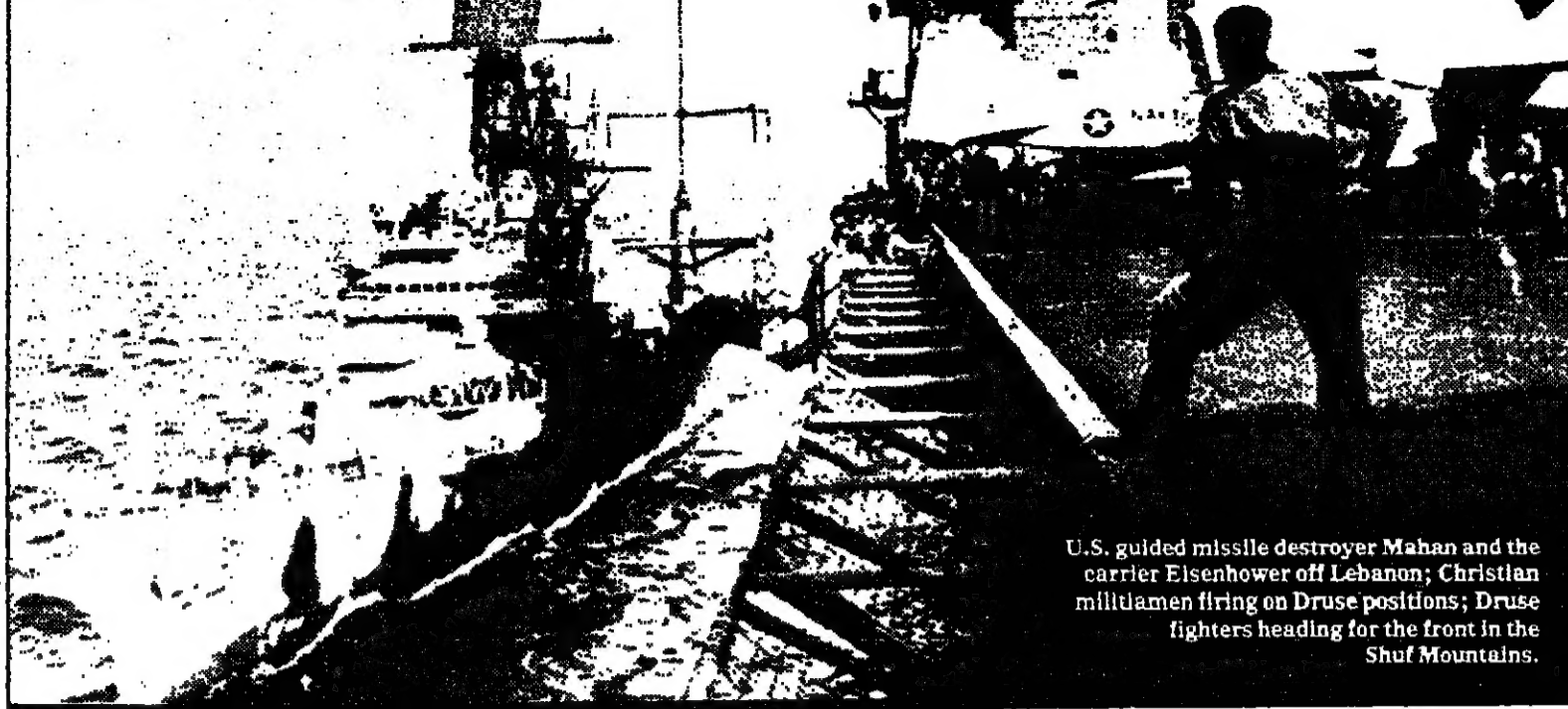
The Aussies were able to beat Dennis Cook and "Liberty," but they couldn't beat the clock, which saw them lose the first two races by 1:10 and 1:33, respectively, after race postponements.

מזנומן האוכל



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## Double Trouble



U.S. guided missile destroyer Mahan and the carrier Eisenhower off Lebanon; Christian militiamen firing on Druse positions; Druse fighters heading for the front in the Shuf Mountains.



Associated Press; United Press International

## No Truce Yet For Reagan In Congress Or Lebanon

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

**F**OR the Reagan Administration, the Lebanese crisis now seems virtually insoluble. The Administration last week was trying simultaneously to negotiate a military cease-fire in Lebanon and a truce with Congress in a basic struggle over foreign policy. Neither achievement appears likely.

The marines, who were sent to Lebanon to bolster Lebanese resistance in the wake of the assassination of President-designate Bashir Gemayel, and the massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, now need to have their own morale boosted after suffering almost daily shelling and some 30 casualties.

A year ago this Tuesday, President Reagan announced that French and Italian forces were returning to Beirut "for a limited period of time." (British forces joined them later.) Their purpose, he promised, was "not to act as a police force, but to make it possible for the lawful authorities of Lebanon to do so for themselves." The expectation was that the American marines would never come under more than scattered sniper fire. Administration officials predicted the Israelis and Syrians would be compelled to withdraw from Lebanon by Christmas of 1982 and the marines would leave soon thereafter. The marines had been there earlier that summer without incident to help supervise the withdrawal of Palestinian and Syrian forces from Beirut and optimism was high that the new assignment would also go well.

These calculations turned out to be wrong, like the rest of the Administration's Middle East predictions for the past year. The "limited" mission turned into an open-ended one. The marines are no longer seen as a political prop for President Amin Gemayel but as his military lifeline. And Congress, which complacently agreed with President Reagan in 1982 that the marines were unlikely to become involved in hostilities, now is in a Constitutional clash with the White House over the War Powers Act, debating whether the marines can remain in Lebanon without a finding that they are in "hostilities," thus necessitating Congressional endorsement within 60 days.

### Administration Opposes Limit

Senate Democrats prepared to move a resolution declaring the marines were indeed involved in hostilities and Congressional approval was therefore necessary. The White House, invoking national security, insisted "any restrictions" on the troops would "enable the Syrians and the Soviets to sit back and simply wait" for their departure. Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, the minority leader, rejected the argument as "a false way for the Administration to attempt to avoid its responsibility of the law." A White House official contended that if the War Powers Act is invoked, "Some foreign party, merely by shooting at your troops, can force you to withdraw them within 60 days if Congress fails to act." That, he argued, would "put a gun to our own head in a whole host of difficult negotiation positions abroad." Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the Republican majority leader, said he planned to introduce a resolution tomorrow that would simply authorize the President to keep troops in Lebanon for a period of time. A resolution before the House specifies 18 months.

Contradictions are rife. The Administration, which wants the Israelis out of Lebanon, was angered that they left too soon, opening the door to the latest fighting. The Americans, on behalf of the Lebanese, even requested Israeli air strikes in the Shuf, but Israel refused. Moreover, although the Administration supports President Gemayel, special envoy Robert C. McFarlane has been pressuring him to take a more conciliatory approach to the Druse and Shites, whose cooperation is obviously needed if there is ever to be peace and the Government's authority is to extend beyond Beirut.

To sustain the argument that the marines are not involved in "hostilities," the Administration has verbally dodged around the military issues involved. When the marines were first sent in, it was said that they had the right to self-defense, meaning that if a sniper shot at a marine, he could shoot back. This concept of self-defense was broadened significantly last week by President Reagan. He authorized local commanders to call in air and naval power offshore to silence enemy fire, not only that directed against marines but against other Western forces or against the Lebanese Army in certain critical

circumstances. Yesterday, Navy ships shelled artillery positions in Syrian-controlled territory that had been hitting targets near the American Ambassador's residence. Syria threatened to retaliate if its positions are attacked. To some members of Congress, using the Sixth Fleet's guns was another acknowledgement of hostilities.

Congress, which has been loath even to increase the number of American military advisers in El Salvador beyond the 55 now authorized, seems willing to keep the marines in Lebanon indefinitely, provided the President agrees to start the clock on the War Powers Act. That is something he does not want to do for fear of losing or diminishing his control of military policy. The Administration, which has been opposed to power sharing in El Salvador, is pushing for political reconciliation among all factions in Lebanon. The difference is that there seems to be strong popular support in the United States for the Lebanese Government's effort to pull the country together; Salvadoran authorities do not enjoy that kind of broad backing.

In coming days, the Administration, faced with what a senior official called "an impossible situation" can only hope for a compromise with Congress and a cease-fire in Lebanon. It may do better in Congress than in Lebanon but nobody is taking any bets.

## As the Stakes Go Up, Syria's Cards Will Be Tough to Beat

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

**S**INCE the onset of the most recent Lebanese crisis, analysts and diplomats have been debating whether the fighting is a "civil war" or a "foreign invasion." In truth, it's a little of both, a foreign invasion made possible and abetted by civil conflict between Lebanese.

But there is another way to look at the latest events. They also represent the end of an era. Lebanon is witnessing the end — possibly permanent, possibly only temporary — of the Israeli era in Beirut's political life and the attempted re-establishment of the Syrian era. The Israeli period began in June 1982 with the invasion

and eventual expulsion of Palestinian and Syrian troops from Beirut. It culminated on May 17 with the signing of the Israel-Lebanon withdrawal agreement that, in many ways, removed Lebanon from the Arab conflict with the Jewish state. But since the Israelis decided to withdraw from around Beirut, their influence in Lebanese politics has steadily waned. The Syrians are trying to fill the vacuum and to undo everything Israel accomplished through the eviction of the Palestinian guerrillas and the signing of the withdrawal accord.

In a sense, what is going on is the long-awaited Syrian-Lebanese negotiation "through other means." Syria's objectives are clear — 1) scuttle the Israeli withdrawal agreement and 2) topple the Gemayel Government or force it to accept so many pro-Syrian elements that it could never again oppose Damascus, let alone implement the accord with Israel that Syria sees as a threat to its security. As usual, Syrian President Hafez el-Assad has pursued his objectives with the combination of brinkmanship, ruthlessness and tactical brilliance that has made him the most feared leader in the Arab East.

On the battlefield he is using Druse, Palestinian and Lebanese leftist proxies to attack Lebanese Army strongholds in the Shuf Mountains, expecting the army will eventually splinter or the Government will say "uncle." Late last week, the Lebanese Army was holding its ground and even advancing in places but the war was by no means over.

While keeping up constant military pressure at the cease-fire negotiations conducted by Saudi Arabia, the Syrians have been demanding withdrawal of the Lebanese Army from the Shuf Mountains and a dominant position for Syria and its allies at the bargaining table in national reconciliation talks. President Amin Gemayel has firmly rejected these demands as an infringement on Lebanon's sovereignty.

The options in Lebanon for the United States can only be understood against the background of Syria's objectives because Syria and its allies are the dynamic force at this stage. Washington has essentially three options in Lebanon, all unattractive, all risky:

### Stalemate at Best

• First, to withdraw the marines altogether on the assumption that Lebanon is a country that has no substantial strategic or economic value to the United States and will probably be permanently mired in civil conflict. In this view, it would make no sense to expose 1,300 marines indefinitely. To be sure, withdrawal would save American lives and extricate Washington from a messy situation, but the implications would be catastrophic for the Gemayel Government.

Mr. Gemayel has made many mistakes in his first year in office, most notably his insensitivity for too long to Moslem and Druse grievances, which exploded into the open three weeks ago. To a certain extent, the President was a prisoner of his Phalangist supporters, whose influence has now been weakened. There are no polls to prove it but the majority of Moslems still seem to believe that whatever his mistakes in the past, President Gemayel is basically well-intentioned and deserves a chance to restore the central authority, unharrassed by foreign powers.

To remove the marines could eliminate that chance, since it is doubtful the regime could survive such a psychological blow. Withdrawal could also seriously damage American credibility with every Arab ally from Morocco to the Gulf, thus creating openings for Moscow.

• Second — the option Washington appears to have chosen — to support the Lebanese Army in every way short of direct American involvement in the fighting. The advantages are that the Lebanese Army does its own dirty work and enhances its legitimacy and credibility in the absence of American ground participation.

This may be the optimal alternative, but it probably won't be decisive. The Syrians could always throw enough men into the battle to at least keep the army from making sizable advances. The Syrians can tie up the Gemayel Government and army for months, making this alternative a recipe for an interminable stalemate.

• Third, to increase American involvement by committing more ground troops directly to the battle. This might produce a decisive victory for the Lebanese Army in the Shuf, but only at the expense of its own legitimacy and unforeseeable American casualties. Moreover, in order to consolidate their gains, American troops would probably have to remain indefinitely. Over time, everyone would start shooting at them, a Lebanese habit that the Israelis, once greeted by some as liberators, can unhappily confirm.

Whatever his choice, Washington must recognize it is ultimately up against the Syrians, who are operating on their own terrain and by their own rulebook in a struggle in which they are willing to use all kinds of force and pull all kinds of levers to secure their interests. One should be prepared to play the game by their hard-ball rules, or else consider whether to play at all.

## Major News

### In Summary

### Slugging It Out but Also Stepping Back

In the air, on the ground and under the sea of Japan, Americans and Russians last week dined heavily over the lessons of the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 7. Both sides, however, seemed intent on insulating the acrimony from crucial negotiations on curbing the nuclear arms race, though no new accords seem imminent.

Expressing their anger at the 269 deaths in the Sept. 1 attack by Soviet military jets, governments and pilots of 16 Western countries suspended airline flights to Moscow for 14 to 60 days. With State Department support, New York and New Jersey barred Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko's Aeroflot plane from landing at Kennedy Airport when the United Nations General Assembly opened this week. He could have flown into a military airfield but Mr. Gromyko decided not to attend, accusing the United States of failing to guarantee his safety. The State Department insisted Mr. Gromyko would have received the same security protection he has had during dozens of previous visits.

In Moscow, tourists scrambled for seats on French and Austrian airlines, which ignored the boycott. In Montreal, the International Civil Aviation Organization's council deplored the downing of the plane and called for an inquiry. Moscow said its own internal investigation should suffice, blaming Washington for the tragedy and contending Soviet airspace had been violated on orders from American intelligence agencies. A Soviet military newspaper said Korean Air Lines was financed, and used by the Central Intelligence Agency and the downed pilot had boasted of the connection, offering no evidence. The C.I.A. said nonsense and industry officials noted the United States had ample other means of spying, notably satellites, and military planes.

Off Sakhalin, the Navy sent a remote-controlled submarine drone to race a Soviet minisubmarine in hopes of picking up electronic "pings" from Flight 7's two crash-resistant data boxes and possible

### additional evidence.

Washington released new excerpts from taped radio messages indicating the plane was having radio trouble and quoting a Soviet interceptor pilot saying, "I am firing cannon bursts" — six minutes before the plane was hit by a missile. This was proof, Tass said, of due warning. Not so, the State Department reiterated; there was no indication of "visual, radio, gunfire" warnings.

President Reagan said the "gruesome episode" influenced countries all over the world to make a "fundamental and long overdue reappraisal" of Soviet intentions. "This case is far from closed," he said in his weekly radio address yesterday. But Greece, angling many European foreign ministers, blocked a condemnation by the Common Market. The United States had difficulty lining up the minimum nine votes in the United Nations Security Council for a watered-down resolution deploring "the tragic loss of life." The Russians vetoed it; China, Nicaragua, Guyana and Zimbabwe abstained. China, however, called on Moscow to indemnify families of victims.

The Senate and House unani-

mously condemned "one of the most infamous and reprehensible acts in history." But attempts by Senate conservatives to attach diplomatic and trade sanctions were defeated; without international backing, the Administration said, such measures would be ineffective.

Many liberals saw the attack as underscoring the urgency of arms control accords. "In the aftermath of the deplorable Soviet conduct," said three Senators — Republicans Charles H. Percy of Illinois, the Foreign Relations Committee chairman, and William S. Cohen of Maine and Sam Nunn of Georgia, a Democrat — it is even more essential for the President and Congress to unite on nuclear weapons programs and arms control proposals. Former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, in a Foreign Affairs magazine article, urged the Atlantic allies to renounce nuclear weapons in Europe as "totally useless" and rely solely on conventional deterrents.

British Defense Minister Michael Heseltine said the plane attack would strengthen support for deployment of new American medium-range missiles in December, if weapons talks remain stalled. Georgi M. Korniyenko, a Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, stood firm. Hopes that Moscow would be swayed were "what we call in Russian wishful thinking," he said. "It matters little whether the two sides smile at each other or frown upon each other. That is not what counts."



Lorenzo Miguel, union head, with Peronist candidate Deolindo Bittel.

Noticias Argentina

### Argentina offered Peronism without Peron

3

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# The World

## Getting Tough With Congress on Central America

If the United States fails to achieve peace and democracy in Central America, it will be largely the fault of Congress. So contended a "fed-up" Reagan Administration last week as it appeared to drop its efforts at persuasion and geared to battle for the appropriations to support military and covert operations the Administration says are essential to American aims. As delivered by Under Secretary of Defense Fred C. Iklé, the fighting words to Congress also sounded to Democrats like preparation for the Republican election campaign next year.

Mr. Iklé, addressing the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs, called for military victory. He accused Congress of "crippling the President's military assistance program" and denying him the means to success. Negotiations alone will not resolve the conflict, he asserted, because "the hard core" among the insurgents in El Salvador will never accept democracy and will have to be defeated.

Mr. Iklé was angered by Senate and House committee actions approving less than half the \$110 million requested for El Salvador.

Pursuing the tough line, the State Department barred Rubén Zamora, a leading Salvadoran leftist, from visiting the United States. It cited comments he reportedly made after the murder of an American military adviser in San Salvador. "I never ap-

expect him to continue the forceful and dominating style that marked Mr. Begin's six years in office, until a few months ago.

Tired, dispirited and ailing, Mr. Begin had not left his home for a week, even sending his letter of resignation to President Chaim Herzog by messenger. A spokesman said a skin rash had prevented him from shaving and he did not wish to appear disheveled before the President.

Mr. Herzog was due to start consulting the parties today and was likely to designate Mr. Shamir to form a cabinet. But members of the coalition were insisting he make a serious effort to incorporate the opposition Labor Party. If Labor agrees to consider cabinet posts, Mr. Shamir, who has only a four-vote majority in the Knesset, may lose support from groups further to the right. In addition, religious groups are making demands for special legislation as the price of their loyalty. After being named, Mr. Shamir would have 21 days to form a cabinet and could ask for an additional 21 days. After that, the President could turn to another candidate or leave it up to the Knesset to call an election or try a candidate of its own.

## Chile Counts The Years

Chile last week commemorated the 10th anniversary of Gen. Augusto Pinochet's regime with more demonstrations, violence and a promise by the General to remain in power for six years more. As he dismissed opponents as "agents of violence" living on "outdated slogans and unrealistic proposals," Santiago slum residents battled police in barricaded streets they claimed were "liberated from the dictatorship."

Chilean newspapers said at least 12 people died in this month's demonstrations, raising the toll to more than 50 dead since May, when unions and politicians began to regularly defy the ban on political activities by launching monthly "days of protest." Last weekend, 30,000 people turned out to chant anti-Government slogans and wave protest signs along the route of a funeral cortege for Miguel Angel Zavala, a 23-year-old bus driver killed during an earlier demonstration. "It's the hour to struggle because my people are suffering," said Msgr. Camilo Via, auxiliary Archbishop of Santiago.

"The protests will have to continue until the causes of discontent are addressed," said Andrés Zaldivar, a former Finance Minister and president of the world Christian democratic union. (The Interior Ministry canceled a television show that had invited Mr. Zaldivar.) Rodolfo Seguel, the copper workers leader who also heads the union coalition, National Workers Command, was jailed after he referred to General Pinochet as an "absurd and fanatical dictator."

The President said he might call a national plebiscite but gave no indication of when or about what. On his anniversary, he listed his achievements in public health, education, nutrition, and the mining, forestry and fishing industries.

But critics were more concerned about 34 percent unemployment and recession that has created tremendous economic hardships for most Chileans.

## Spain Fires A General

Spain's Socialist Government usually walks warily in fields where the rightist-oriented military tread. But last week, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez's cabinet evidently felt it was time for toughness and bounced a senior officer who had defended colleagues now in prison for an abortive coup in February 1981.

Lieut. Gen. Fernando Soteras Casamayor was dismissed as commander of the Seventh Military Region, based in Valladolid, after a magazine interview in which he described the plotters as "gentlemen" motivated by patriotism. He also suggested the Government was showing relative leniency toward terrorists in the Basque country, who perform such execrable acts as destroying the flag.

The first leftist regime since Francisco Franco defeated the Second Republic more than 40 years ago is torn between the need to show authority and the need to avoid offense to a group of officers who either served with Franco or inherited his anti-leftist outlook. The action against General Soteras seemed an attempt to quash a campaign in favor of the 30 army and civil guard officers who are serving terms of one to 30 years. In June, letters from rightist officers demanding clemency began appearing in El Alcázar, a far-right daily in Madrid. Seven of the letter writers, of lesser rank than General Soteras, have been mildly disciplined, mostly by two weeks of house arrest.

Henry Ginzler  
and Milt Freudenheim



Fred C. Iklé

proved of the death," Mr. Zamora protested. "The State Department is clearly lying." Referring to his recent meeting in Central America with Presidential envoy Richard B. Stone, he added, "They permit Mr. Stone to talk to me but refuse to allow the public and... Congress to hear our voice."

Mr. Iklé also seemed incensed at the House vote last month to end American support for insurgent forces fighting the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. He warned against turning "Nicaragua into a sanctuary from which the nations of Central America could be safely attacked but in which U.S.-supported forces could not operate."

The Administration is seeking \$50 million for its Nicaraguan operations. Representative Clarence D. Long, the Democratic chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, said the Iklé speech reflected Administration failure. "They're nearing an election and they want someone to blame it on," he said.

The Administration also wants to extend aid to Guatemala, which despite periodic proclamations of victory, also continues to have trouble with leftist forces as well as with political instability. Last week, Celeste Aida Mejía Viqueles, sister of Guatemala's latest military leader, Brig. Gen. Oscar Mejía Viqueles, was kidnapped by four gunmen. On Aug. 8, General Mejía ousted Brig. Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, whose sister was also kidnapped and has yet to be found.

## A Cloudy Dawn In Jerusalem

Menachem Begin formally resigned as Prime Minister last week, opening an uncertain and possibly unstable period in Israeli politics.

From Aug. 28, when he stunned the nation by announcing his intention to resign, Mr. Begin kept it waiting more than two weeks until his Herut Party and the Likud coalition (of which it is the largest component) could agree on Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir as the successor. Mr. Shamir, who would probably carry out policies very similar to Mr. Begin's, had no clear path to the premiership, however. Nor does anyone

## Downing of Airliner by Moscow Will Help Nakasone's Defense Plans

# Tokyo Is Carefully Angry At the Lack of 'Sincerity'



Airline official examining debris from Korean plane found on a beach on the Japanese island of Hokkaido.

By CLYDE HABERMAN

TOKYO — No official will make the point publicly, if only because it would be in questionable taste, but the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 747 may turn into an unexpected boon for the conservative Government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. He has long advocated increased defense spending and the airliner incident is likely to make it easier for him to present his case to Parliament and the public. Most Japanese, their postwar pacifism fading, have already come to accept a stronger military as an unavoidable fact of life. Some even consider it desirable. After a century of friction and occasional war with Russia, Japanese tend not to need their arms twisted to perceive a menace from across the Sea of Japan.

Not that any radical measures will result from the loss of 269 lives, including 28 Japanese passengers, on the plane. That is not how things

work in Japan. Mr. Nakasone's Cabinet settled this summer on a tentative 6.88 percent ceiling for increased defense spending in 1984, and when the detailed budget figures are worked out, 6.88 percent is what it will be, give or take a small fraction—a military budget of \$12.3 billion.

But it is vital in Japanese politics to have not merely a majority but broad agreement on a matter of such importance. In the wake of the South Korean plane disaster, the country's conservative leaders may not have to resort to a hard-sell approach.

Criticism of the Prime Minister has been muted, even from unfriendly newspapers that tend to blame his Liberal Democratic Party for all of Japan's ills. By coincidence, the main opposition party, the Socialists, installed a new leader during the plane crisis. Firmly committed to a policy of "unarmed neutrality," the Socialists have suffered continuously diminished influence over the last 20 years. Their new party chief, Masashi Ishibashi, taking control six days after

the plane was shot down, offered little more than a *pro forma* denunciation of Mr. Nakasone for "warlike" ways.

If anything, the Prime Minister probably could have safely taken a sterner anti-Soviet line than he did. The sense among many people is that, like President Reagan, Mr. Nakasone had to catch up with widespread indignation spurred by an attack on a plane that not only had carried Japanese but had fallen into waters just off Japan's northern coast. At first, the Prime Minister called the incident "very unfortunate." His rhetoric rose quickly to "barbaric" and "an affront to humanity."

In terms of specific action, the Government moved carefully, although no more so than most other countries; it was a good deal more decisive than some. A first set of anti-Soviet sanctions, notably a ban on Government officials flying the Soviet airline Aeroflot, looked tame compared with Canada's 60-day ban on all Aeroflot flights. But a second round of sanctions included a 14-day prohibition on Moscow-Tokyo air traffic — the same as Western Europe's ban.

## Tensions Kept Under Control

More important — and perhaps to the detriment of future intelligence gathering — Japan provided the recordings of conversations between Soviet fighter pilots that left no doubt the Boeing 747 had been shot down while Moscow was still refusing to own up to the fact.

One of the things that nettled the Japanese was the Russians' lack of "sincerity" as they rejected blame for attacking the South Korean plane with heat-seeking missiles. "Sincerity" came up almost daily. It is an important constant in Japan, and even if it involves nothing more than a ball-player offending his manager, a "sincere" act of contrition takes care of a multitude of sins.

Even so, Japan moved with its usual deliberate speed. Furthermore, no one in government lost sight of the tenet that, in the end, business is business. From Mr. Nakasone down, officials repeatedly made the point that the plane incident was a "temporary" one and nothing should interfere with Soviet-Japanese relations.

Those ties have never been the best, however. Thirty-eight years after World War II, the two nations have yet to sign a full peace treaty, a principal stumbling block being Russian occupation of small islands north of Japan that Tokyo claims. More recently, Moscow upset Japan by basing MIG-23 fighters on Sakhalin Island, near where the South Korean airliner went down. The Russians said the action was a response to the Japanese allowing American F-16's at Misawa on Honshu, Japan's main island.

But neither side apparently wants the tensions to go too far. They have joint ventures to protect, such as Japan's petroleum project in waters off Sakhalin. Tokyo is also interested in selling, and the Soviet Union in buying, high technology for Siberian development projects. While Russia accounted for only 2 percent of Japan's foreign trade in 1982, the \$5.6 billion volume had grown five times greater in a decade.

Essentially, the attitude is that life goes on. The Bolshoi Ballet, for example, opened a series of performances in Tokyo last week. Anti-Soviet protesters marched for a while outside. But by the end of the evening, the Russian dancers had earned rousing applause and it was a safe bet the fate of Flight 747 was not on many minds.

## Mugabe Came Looking for U.S. Investment Last Week

# Aches Amid The Pains of Growth in Zimbabwe

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

HARARE, Zimbabwe — During the 14-year struggle to topple the all-white regime of Rhodesia, black Zimbabwe nationalists in exile would often argue that since their country would be the last in Africa (besides South-West Africa) to attain self rule, they had an opportunity to avoid the mistakes of older African states.

The guerrilla leaders would talk about the need to retain whites with their skills and their capital. Some would also privately scorn the tendency of other countries to squander money on prestige projects like monuments and overblown public buildings. They would talk about the need to avoid the tribal rivalries and ideological conflicts that have bedeviled the development of many African states. Finally, they would stress the need to instill an ethical discipline and to block the formation of conspicuously acquisitive elites that are known in some places as the *Wa-Benz*, or people of the Mercedes-Benz.

Two and a half years after independence, the intentions are increasingly being judged against performance by many white and black Zimbabweans. In the still incomplete balance sheet, there is agreement that successes outweigh failures, at least in three major areas: a united army, education and the avoidance of civil war.

The melding of units of the old Rhodesian army, the two rival guerrilla armies, and three smaller private armies into a well-trained and relatively disciplined army is without precedent on this continent. The week before last, the Government revealed that it had empaneled a commission of inquiry two months ago to investigate allegations of atrocities and massacres of civilians by a military brigade ordered to seek out army dissidents in Matabeleland, an ethnically distinct and politically suspect region led by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's principal rival, Joshua Nkomo.

The avoidance of full-scale civil war has largely been a result of creating a united army. It has also resulted from the reluctant acceptance of demographic realities by the Ndebele people in Matabeleland who are significantly outnumbered by the Shona-speaking majority. But the conflict between the two leaders is not over. Mr. Nkomo, who exiled himself earlier this year in fear for his life, is threatened by Mr. Mugabe's openly expressed wish for a one-party state. Progress in education is reflected in the fact



Zimbabweans at monument for war dead built by North Koreans.

that at independence there were 600,000 students in primary and secondary schools and today there are a little more than three million. The Government is carrying out its commitment to supply one textbook in each subject to each child. There have been problems in some areas with not enough teachers or with local committees using book funds to buy automobiles for their leaders.

Against the achievements are policies and actions increasingly regarded as failures, even by members of the Government and ruling party. These relate to corruption, sloppy administra-

tion, patronage, misdirected resources and a lack of an all-embracing spirit of nation-building.

Last week, for example, while Mr. Mugabe was visiting the United States primarily to seek more private investment, John Hilligan, the chief auditor, lambasted the sloppy accounting standards of ministries, charging them with overspending, making purchases without authorization and keeping no records.

## More Whites Want Out

The policy of discouraging white departures has recently been set back by ministerial attacks on the principle of an independent judiciary. More than 100,000 whites have left since Rhodesian days. But the departures have been dropping steadily and the white population appeared to have stabilized at about 170,000 until recent weeks. Some 7,000 white families reportedly seek to leave, apparently because of the treatment of six white airmen who were ordered back to jail after sabotage charges were dismissed in court.

After the white officers, three of whom have subsequently been released, were re-detained, the influential Home Minister, Dr. Herbert Ukwumbe, launched an attack on the black judge who had ordered their acquittal for allegedly showing class bias. The minister belittled the principle of an independent judiciary. The treatment of the officers has irritated Washington as Mr. Mugabe discovered during his visit last week. Washington has also irritated Mr. Mugabe by linking the independence of South-West Africa to the departure of Cuban troops from Angola — the major disagreement discussed with President Reagan.

Patronage and probity as they affect the emerging elite is also causing concern. Mr. Mugabe has referred several times to the need for a leadership code but so far no guideline or purge of politicians and civil servants. The bounties of independence have been spread through a pay-swell system that has among other things the decision-making process a mystery.

In addition to the Mercedes, the BMW's and the farms being bought by the new elites, there are also Government projects that have been characterized as needlessly extravagant. For example, a North Korean team, including common laborers, was imported to build, at a reported cost of \$65 million, a monument to those who died in the guerrilla war.

Some diplomats and Government officials are also troubled by mixed signals about ideology and development strategy. The development approach being taken so far resembles the Kenyan capitalist model. Emerging black elites, often sources of capital abroad. Profits are being reinvested and in theory jobs are being created. At the same time everybody calls each other comrade. Last week a Government conference was called to determine what socialism means. Mozambique, a much more militant and committed socialist state, is cited as the special friend. But nothing has been nationalized and modest efforts to form cooperatives have often been blocked by civil servants.

مکان من الفصل



The Search for 'Traitors' Invades a Peaceful Salvador Campus

# The Room for Dialogue Gets Narrower

By LYDIA CHAVEZ

SAN SALVADOR — Early warning of a new front in El Salvador's terrorist war against civilians has reached the secluded campus of the University of Central America. The Secret Anti-Communist Army, known by its Spanish initials E.S.A., planted bombs two weeks ago at the home of Italo Lopez Valledillo, a professor, and in a Jesuit residence owned by the university. E.S.A. last week advised Mr. Lopez and the Jesuits that its "guns are pointed constantly at traitors of the people."

E.S.A. statements indicated the group was angry because the university's 36-year-old bimonthly magazine, *Central American Studies*, called on the Government to consider dialogue and negotiations to end the civil war. Mr. Lopez is one of five members of the editorial board. The magazine analyzes such subjects as the war's effect on the economy, the labor movement and the general course of the war. "We try to give the general remedies," a contributor said. "We leave the details up to the Government." Another writer said the magazine may criticize but is "always politely critical and respectful."

Some faculty members believe the professors and contributors on the editorial board, not the university, were being threatened. At the private university's wooded park-like campus, no extra security precautions have been taken since the bombing, an administrator said. "It's just an inconvenience," a professor said. "We're accustomed to it."

At least outward calm has been the school's rule

throughout the years of civil war. The National University was closed after student unrest but at the University of Central America, classes were never canceled and academic standards never lowered. The coeducational school has avoided affronts to the Government. "It is through its academic work that the university believes it can have the most political impact," a professor said. Like others interviewed on the campus, he asked that his name be withheld.

## Weathering the Storms

This policy has been maintained, in part, because the 150 full-time faculty and 5,800 mainly urban middle-class students, who pay an average of \$25 monthly tuition, represent a broad political spectrum. The Jesuits founded the university in 1953 and still control its board. But only 10 faculty members are Jesuits; the school has no formal ties to the church. Only a handful of faculty members could be targets because of their academic or editorial work, a professor said. Some of the potential victims remained calm; others showed nervousness. "We have weathered a lot of storms," one said. "When the clouds are gathering again, I find myself wondering if I am going to weather it, get wet or get drenched."

Despite university policy of shunning direct involvement in politics, two dozen professors left the school during the early 1980's to work with moderate members of the then-ruling junta. Later, as El Salvador moved to the right, some of these former professors joined the guerrillas; others went with Salvadoran leftist politicians to Mexico. Some students have been jailed. In May 1980, se-

curity forces pursued a thief onto the campus and, in the ensuing chase, shot and killed two students. In May this year, Lieut. Comdr. Albert A. Schaufelberger 3d, the deputy commander of American military advisers in El Salvador, was killed as he waited outside the campus for a friend who managed the university supplies store. The Farabundo Martí Liberation Front took responsibility for the killing.

E.S.A. has planted 18 bombs in the Jesuit residence since 1979. In March 1980, it listed 10 faculty members as "enemies of the people." It has called itself an umbrella group for right-wing terror groups including The Death Squad, the Anti-Communist Brigade and the White War Union. Church officials and diplomats believe members of the security forces have participated in these groups, which have been held responsible for many of the 40,000 civilian deaths since 1979. The groups may also include some of the security guards protecting right-wing politicians, said E.S.A. itself added that it was a "clandestine organization of a political military character independent of all forces, factions or political parties." (It recently warned Ricardo Cienfuegos, the head of the Salvadoran army press office, that propaganda would not win the war.)



Student on the campus of University of Central America.

Despite the recent attacks, the university and the magazine plan to continue operating as usual. Throughout the civil war, most students have been politically inactive, which the university indirectly encourages. Classes are rigorous and a student gets only two opportunities to pass a class before being expelled. "We don't have any eternal students here," a professor said.

The university asked incoming freshmen their political preferences: 71 percent, showing caution or indifference, gave no party preference. Among the rest, 10.3 percent chose the Christian Democrats, 5 percent the far-right National Republican Alliance, 2.8 percent the moderate Democratic Action Party, 2.1 percent the left, and 1.7 percent the conservative National Reconciliation Party.

"The majority of us see the social problems, but cannot change them," said a 19-year-old economics student. "I don't agree with what is going on, but my solutions are those that the Catholic Church proposes." A 21-year-old chemistry student explained, "We all have an interest in finding a solution, but we don't see a need to be active politically. I have to do well in school, have a career and be able to support myself." Said a professor who sat behind his desk chain-smoking cigarettes and fidgeting with his lighter, "We are facing a period in which political spaces are closing. Certain sectors of society are going to be under increasing attack."

After the Right-Wing Military, Right-Wing Unions Seek to Rule

# Argentina Offered Peronism Without Peron

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

BUENOS AIRES — The old caudillo, Juan Domingo Peron, died in 1974. His wife and successor, Isabel Martinez de Peron, is mysteriously silent in self-exile in Spain. For 40 years, Peronism has been a near-mythic force in Argentina. But what is Peronism without a Peron? With national elections less than 45 days away, an answer is emerging: right-wing unions.

Two weeks ago, the party-nominated former Senator Italo A. Luder as its presidential candidate. He owed his victory to union leaders, who came away from the convention in control of the party machinery and with many of the key senatorial, congressional and gubernatorial nominations. If the Peronists win the elections — they are slight favorites over Radil Alfonsín and his middle-class Radical Party — the unions could have unprecedented power.

Mr. Luder, a constitutional lawyer, and other Peronist political leaders had sought to avoid that, but some Peronist leaders now privately feel the unions will be uncontrollable. "What space for maneuver will Mr. Luder have?" La Nación, a leading newspaper, asked last week. "If the union power backs him, a lot; if not, little." Mr. Luder, who maintains that the President's power can control the unions, has sought to allay fears. "Social stability, if it still exists in this country," he said, "is due exclusively to the political maturity of the trade unions."

Argentine unions, unlike most in Latin America, are strongly anti-Communist. But the movement, shaped by ideological fascism popular in the 1940's, is also suspicious of capitalism. Highly nationalistic, the unions demand a state-controlled economy and extensive welfare.

Widespread strikes were part of the chaos that led to Mrs. Peron's overthrow by the military in 1976.

Many union leaders have been close to the military. They cooperated in right-wing underground terrorist groups that countered leftist terrorists before the coup. Many political and human rights leaders have charged that some union leaders have quietly made agreements with the Government of President Reynaldo B. Bignone to go soft on possible investigations into the more than 8,000 people who disappeared in the military's campaign against leftist terrorism.

Last week, a group from the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, relatives of the missing, met with key union leaders to ask for their support. The meeting ended with the mothers shouting "assassins" at the union men and the union men shouting "terrorists" back. The women said eight union men jumped out at a group of 30 mothers as they left, beating them with fists and sticks while police in a patrol car looked on. Unions have always been the shock troops of Peronism, providing much of General Peron's finances, grass-roots organization and strong-arm enforcers. In return, workers received wage hikes and union leaders won lucrative control over welfare funds, hospitals and resorts. But General Peron, a populist demagogue, shrewdly juggled the unions and political and women's groups, to limit the unions' power.

The union leader who has emerged as a political leader is Lorenzo Miguel, the burly, bewhiskered leader of the metalworkers' union and of the 62 Organizations, the political branch of one of the country's two labor confederations. Politicians such as Deolindo Bittel, the Peronist nominee for Vice President, embraced Mr. Miguel who was overwhelmingly elected first vice president of the party. The absent and silent Mrs. Peron was re-

lected party president but Mr. Miguel will run its daily business.

## Charges Filed in Court

Mr. Miguel has since stacked the party's steering committees with loyalists. The party position, plus his two union positions, have made him one of the most powerful men in the country, despite an unsavory public image. Guillermo Patricio Kelly, a nationalistic muckracker, has filed court charges accusing Mr. Miguel of ordering the death of a bodyguard in 1975 and of aiding right-wing terrorists. Political opponents have tried to exploit the charges. "Miguel is used to bullying his unions," Mr. Alfonsín said last week, "and now he is trying to bully the country."

Mr. Miguel has denied all charges. On the political rise of union leaders, he said, "What has happened is that we have taken on a greater responsibility, but the Peronist movement belongs to all of us."

Another rising labor leader, Herminio Iglesias, a former metalworker is the Peronist gubernatorial candidate in Buenos Aires Province. The province is the country's largest, and the governor's job is considered next best to being President. Mr. Iglesias won with a political machine that steamrollered Antonio Cafiero, a former economy minister, presidential contender and leading political figure. Among the many other nominations captured by union leaders are the two senatorial nominations for the federal district of Buenos Aires, eight congressional nominations in the district, and the gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial nominations in Santa Fe, the country's second most populous province.

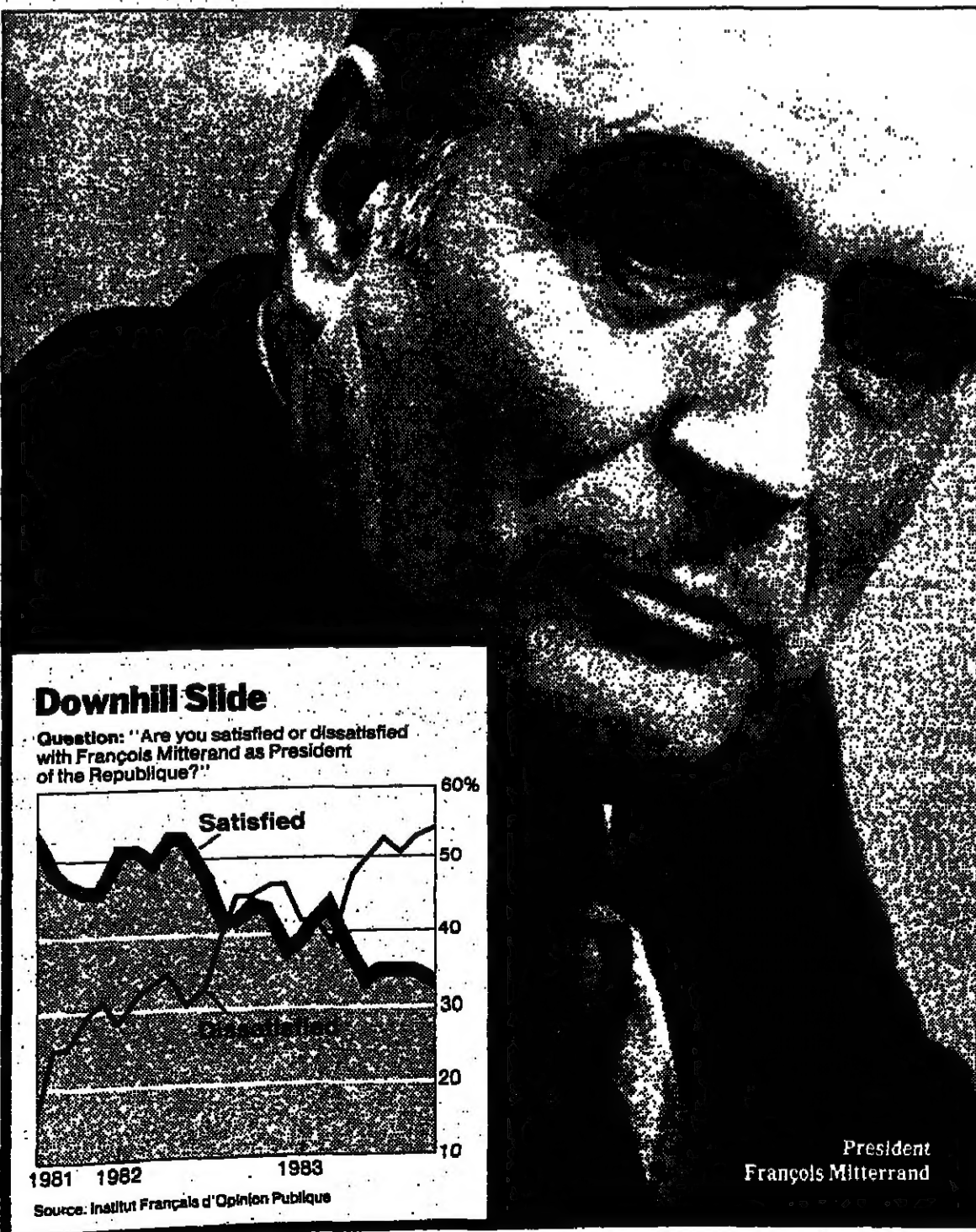
But the unions are by no means guaranteed ultimate power. They remain divided by personal ambitions and



Metalworkers' Union leader Lorenzo Miguel (left) with Peronist vice presidential candidate Deolindo Bittel at Peronist convention this month.

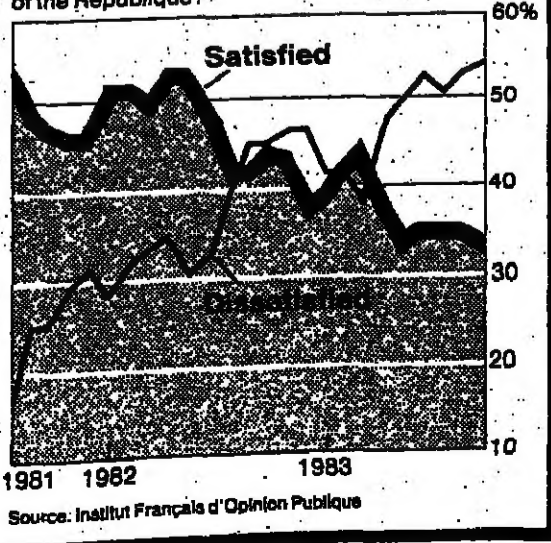
many people in the movement resent Mr. Miguel's great power. Numerous wildcat strikes in recent weeks indicate that the leaders may not be in control of the rank and file. Finally, Mr. Alfonsín, who has campaigned among workers against what he calls the "gangster-like behavior" of "unrepresentative" union leaders, could win the elections. He has called for democratizing the unions.

Polls Indicate Mitterrand Is the Most Unpopular President in 25 Years



## Downhill Slide

Question: "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with François Mitterrand as President of the Republic?"



# Taxes, Layoffs and Racism Put French in Morose Mood

By JOHN VINOCUR

PARIS — Back in the soft wash of reflected Gaullist glory, President Georges Pompidou said something about wanting to turn France into a Sweden with sunshine. These days, President François Mitterrand is fulfilling the least appealing part of the promise: new measures announced last week appear to make Frenchmen the highest-taxed people in the world after the Swedes and Norwegians.

By instinct as much as a reformist, President Pompidou paid little serious attention to his own remark and remained a popular leader until his death in 1974. Legislating more social justice than some of his critics think France could afford in times much harder than those Mr. Pompidou presided over, hiring hundreds of thousands of new Government employees, and throwing money into failing nationalized industry, Mr. Mitterrand took the Gaullist's Scandinavian vision literally. He has wound up the most unpopular French president in 25 years. The latest polls find that only 33 percent of the electorate is satisfied with the job Mr. Mitterrand is doing, a kind of political free fall from the state of grace he enjoyed after his election in May 1981.

The serious questions now about French politics are: Where is bottom for Mr. Mitterrand and the left, and if their fall continues, what happens? Since there are no legislative elections until 1986, and the President is unlikely to call for early ones that the left parties would probably lose, a natural pressure tends to push dissatisfaction into the streets in strikes, demonstrations, and general nastiness.

Looking at the Government's new budget, which not only increases taxes for the middle class, but tries to halve the rate of salary increases next year, André Bergeron, a Socialist labor leader, said last week he feared the possibility of "civil disobedience" as a result. Henri Kraucki, who heads the Communist General Labor Confederation, made the same kind of disapproving noises, saying Mr. Mitterrand's efforts to reverse the economic course by cutting spending — benign Thatcherism to the Communists and far-left Socialists — "hits too much at the little guys and those in the middle." Remarks like these, in the view of some aides to the President, hardly help; they tend to consecrate the idea of more trouble in store.

Over the past week, a series of events illustrated what might go wrong. Besides the bad news from the new budget, a re-run election in the Normandy city of Dreux, pumped up into a national test because of charges of racism and fascism, resulted in the Socialists losing a stronghold they had won four straight times. In Corsica,

a regional Government official was assassinated in circumstances that newspaper stories described as having the scent of civil war. And in the Paris suburbs, three Communist mayors and a deputy mayor, were indicted on corruption charges.

The Corsican problem translates into domestic politics as reinforcement for the opposition's charges that Mr. Mitterrand's Government lacks resolve and ignores people's concern for their personal security. The Communist difficulties make the President's relations with his coalition partner no simpler at a time when he would prefer to be on good terms; Mr. Mitterrand knows that the party's real utility to him would be in restraining the temptation to strike and demonstrate when this autumn's salary talks bring raises of only 4 to 5 percent, and clear losses in purchasing power.

But it was the election in Dreux that contained the most disturbing elements, not just for Mr. Mitterrand but for the country as a whole. In the first round of the voting, candidates of the National Front, a right-wing extremist party campaigning to send Arab immigrants "back to their huts on the other side of the Mediterranean," won 17 percent of the vote. Last Sunday, in the final round, a common slate of Gaullists and middle-of-the-roads, won, carrying by previous agreement four of the National Front candidates into the city council.

## Racism on the Rise

Coming after polls showing that more than 50 percent of the French think that sending the immigrants home would improve the employment situation here, the election had some very unpleasant aspects. The left turned all its big guns on Dreux in the week before the voting, but despite warnings about the stink of fascism, it was soundly beaten.

Perhaps what the elections suggest most of all is that the poor economic state of the country has strengthened an ugly but limited minority that can play the role of a catalyst. Combined with new layoffs expected this fall in heavy industry that are likely to affect Arab workers, some of them allied to militant Islamic organizations, the presence of a racist right-wing minority is one of the volatile elements of the French political autumn.

In the middle of all this, Mr. Mitterrand went on national television last week. It was rather like night school with a relatively good-humored economics teacher whose message, through graphs and colored bars, was that all the bad trends started before he arrived, and they would disappear if everyone was patient.

His waning popularity? There the politician went out over the epigrammatist and the phrasemaker: "If I'm unpopular," Mr. Mitterrand said, "then I prefer it to falling in my duties."

# BROADWAY 80

WARNING — The Ministry of Health has determined that smoking is harmful to health.

I'm glad I changed.



# The Nation

## Hops and Jumps On Democratic Campaign Train

The political bells proved irresistible to one semi-retired fire horse last week. As some of the six announced Democratic Presidential aspirants challenged White House policy in Central America and the Middle East, George S. McGovern added his name to their number.

Mr. McGovern, opening a campaign that friends and family had advised against, seemed to challenge the concept of an Israel-centered Middle East policy. He said he would be "evenhanded" and would not permit foreign policy to become the "hostage of any country."

In contrast, Ohio Senator John Glenn, whom Israel's supporters have accused of ambivalence toward Israel, proposed that the United States drop its policy of "evenhandedness." Speaking before the Foreign Policy Association in New York, Mr. Glenn said Washington should stress its "unshakable commitment to Israel's security and prosperity."

In Washington, the other front-runner, Walter F. Mondale, jabbed at Mr. Reagan's domestic flank. Before a crowd of businessmen, he blamed



George S. McGovern announcing his candidacy last week.

the President for "the steepest recession since the 1930's" and the "unbalanced recovery." He added, "Most of us in this room received more tax cuts than we needed."

In Europe, where he boned up on foreign affairs, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson got a quick lesson in how not to handle himself abroad. After an audience with Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands, Mr. Jackson, a possible candidate, found himself apologizing for commenting publicly on his private conversation over missiles.

Meanwhile, President Reagan celebrated Hispanic Heritage Week by courting a variety of Hispanic civic and political groups. Democratic Congressional leaders countered that "Hispanic Americans have suffered even more than others" under Mr. Reagan.

## It's No Longer Political Poison

The 15-year moratorium on the production of nerve gas by the United States went up in smoke last week. Prodded by outrage at the Soviet Union, the House easily passed a \$187.5 billion military authorization bill for the coming fiscal year containing \$114.6 million for a new generation of poison gas weapons. The Senate had approved the measure a few days earlier. The overall bill, though \$10.5 billion smaller than the Administration would have liked, is probably large enough for the President to sign.

The House had voted down the nerve gas program in June, but the Senate approved it — Vice President Bush cast a tie-breaking vote — and a conference committee acceded to the upper house. Though a relatively small component of a package that included \$12 billion for 22 Navy ships, \$5.6 billion for 10 B-1 bombers, \$4.9 billion for 21 MX missiles and \$408 million for 96 Pershing 2 missiles, nerve gas was nonetheless the focus of debate. Advocates argued that the new weapons — consisting of artillery shells or bombs containing two gases that are inert until mixed in flight — are safer to store and move than the single gas variety in the current stockpile. Final assembly of the new weapons is not to begin before October 1985.

These details hardly mollified critics who contend the weapons would escalate the arms race and compromise the country's moral stance against chemical warfare. "Unfortunately, the barbarous destruction of KAL 007 by the Soviets effectively precluded the House from considering the nerve gas issue in an objective fashion," said Representative

Clement J. Zablocki, the Wisconsin Democrat who heads the Foreign Affairs Committee.

## Will of Iron, Veins of Coal

A legislative veto intended to protect Western coal lands last week got an executive brushoff from Interior Secretary James G. Watt, who then found himself on the receiving end of a judicial brushoff.

The House Interior Committee voted on Aug. 3 to prohibit the agency from conducting any more coal lease auctions this year. Acting under the provisions of a law that permits legislative committees to withdraw Federal lands from use or sale on an emergency basis, the panel said in particular that several tracts of coal land in the Fort Union area, near the North Dakota-Montana border, should be protected.

In a letter to Representative Morris K. Udall, chairman of the committee, Mr. Watt said last week the panel's directive would be ignored because, under a Supreme Court ruling in June, it was unconstitutional. In that decision, the Court struck down the right of either or both houses of Congress to veto actions of the executive branch.

Mr. Watt went ahead with the sale later in the week, although only five of eight tracts drew bids from private operators. But when U.S. District Judge Louis Oberdorfer heard that Mr. Watt might issue the leases within 15 days, he issued an emergency order to block final sale pending a new hearing. He said Mr. Watt's intentions conflicted with Justice Department assurances that no leases would be issued for 45 days.

In the new hearing, the judge is to decide whether to keep the leases blocked until a suit brought by the National Wildlife Federation is heard. That suit, which seeks to bar strip mining on the land, is scheduled to be heard Oct. 21.

## G.O.P. Derailed In California

Christmas won't come a little early for California Republicans after all, under a ruling last week by the State Supreme Court.

Republicans — who are outnumbered in the State Assembly and in the Congressional delegation, thanks to Democratic-drawn boundaries approved by Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. before he left office — had obtained enough signatures on petitions to put a reapportionment plan of their design on the ballot. And Republican Gov. George Deukmejian, despite Democratic complaints about the timing, had promptly called a special election for Dec. 13.

But last week the court ruled 6-to-1 that the election would violate a once-a-decade state constitutional limit on boundary-drawing, aimed at avoiding repetitions "of the turmoil and disruption which inevitably surround reapportionment." If it isn't overturned by a Federal court or sidestepped legislatively, the ruling means the disputed boundaries would remain on the books until the early 1990's.

The author of the initiative, Republican Assemblyman Don Sebastian, said he would ask a Federal court to intervene. Other Republicans groused about changing the constitution to make it court-proof and about going after a few justices. Assemblyman Pat Nolan thundered: "I will urge Californians to organize a campaign to remove (state Chief Justice) Rose Bird and her allies from the court." He said the ruling — the first time in 35 years that the court had ordered a measure off the ballot — was nothing less than "partisan activity."

## An Easy Win In Baltimore

Baltimore's Democratic mayoral primary last week shaped up as a sort of precedent-setting election. In the heaviest turnout in a decade, voters nominated William Donald Schaefer to become the city's first four-term Mayor and turned back William H. Murphy Jr.'s bid to become the city's first black Mayor.

In easily defeating Mr. Murphy in the primary, Mayor Schaefer seemed assured of winning another four-year term in November; Democrats outnumber Republicans by 10 to 1 in Baltimore. Mr. Murphy, a former state judge, had counted on a summer voter registration drive to boost his chances, but got only about 27 percent of the vote.

The two candidates had played down the racial aspects of the contest and many of the city's old-line black leaders backed Mayor Schaefer, a liberal credited with a key role in revitalizing Baltimore's Inner Harbor district. Mr. Murphy's main support among blacks, who make up 60 percent of the population, came from the young and the jobless.

Carlyle C. Douglas,  
Michael Wright and  
Caroline Rand Heron

## Democrats Seek Social Gains Amid Frustration

By STEVEN R. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON — When Congress returned to Capitol Hill last week at the end of its holiday, the first order of business in the House of Representatives was a bill raising spending levels for 10 education and health programs. The House later approved \$200 million in aid for workers who lost their jobs because of foreign competition. This week the Democratic leadership has scheduled debate on spending \$5 billion on thousands of public service jobs.

To the Democrats, these were small but significant steps in restoring spending cuts approved during the peak of President Reagan's popularity. "We're just trying to limit some of the severest damage," said Representative Thomas S. Foley of Washington, the Democratic whip.

To the Republicans, the Democrats were just reverting to their old free-spending ways. "We go home, and we're all concerned about budget deficits," noted Representative Trent Lott of Mississippi, the Republican whip. "Then we come back, and what's the first bill we take up? We add \$1.6 billion to a whole series of programs. That's a direct contradiction to all we've been saying — that we have to do something about deficits."

As these columns indicate, the Democrats' fall legislative offensive immediately touched off heated partisan wrangling. But there was broad agreement in both parties that Mr. Lott was correct in noting that nobody on Capitol Hill, or in the Administration, for that matter, seems very interested these days in dealing with the budget deficit, which could top \$200 billion in the fiscal year that ends in two weeks.

"I'm not seeing much leadership in the White House or in Congress to reduce the deficits," complained Representative James R. Jones, Democrat of Oklahoma and chairman of the Budget Committee. "And that's a very risky gamble to take with the economy." Representative Barber B. Conable Jr., a Republican from upstate New York, added: "I'm scared about this deficit, I really am."

What scares legislators like Mr. Jones and Mr. Conable is the possibility that vast deficits over the next few years will force the Federal government to borrow heavily in the credit market and



Randy Jones

tear a large chunk out of the available investment capital. The result, they say, could be a lethal blow to the economy.

## Concerns About Red Ink

Privately, many influential lawmakers share these fears, and last week, House Democrats and Senate Republicans apparently agreed to craft a \$12 billion tax bill this year. But the small size of those revenues compared to the deficit only dramatizes the problem facing the lawmakers. For now, any decisive steps to reduce the deficit seem highly unlikely, and one reason is that not everybody believes that deficits are all that evil. When Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan blames high interest rates on the banking industry, he undermines the incentive in Congress, and in the Administration, for taking action.

But even lawmakers who worry about the budget gap are frustrated by the sheer size of the problem. When you're \$200 billion short, some seem to be saying, what difference does spending another few billion make?

This sense of helplessness has been aggravated by a basic clash in philosophies. The Democratic-controlled House says the budget gap should be

closed through higher taxes, while the Republican-run Senate tends to favor spending cuts. As Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, the Republican whip, noted, "We have to recognize that there's not a national consensus about what to do about the deficit."

Earlier in the summer, some lawmakers voiced the hope that when Congress left Washington for its August break their colleagues would be moved by constituents who were concerned about soaring interest rates and demanding action. Those cries may have been out there, but the impact appears to have been tempered by a stream of good economic news and distracting international events.

At the same time, Democrats have been looking for an opportunity to reverse policies and priorities set early in the Reagan Administration. They believe strongly that the emphasis the White House puts on higher defense spending at the expense of domestic programs represents a set of "deranged priorities," as Representative Jim Wright put it, and so the bills advanced last week are part of a broader effort to reinstate the principle that Government has a responsibility to meet pressing social needs.

"We have been making a slow but sure effort," noted Representative William D. Ford, Democrat of Michigan, chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, "to rehabilitate the programs crippled by Gramm-Leach. He was referring to the budget bills adopted in 1981 that were named for Representative Phil Gramm of Texas, then a Democrat and now a Republican, and Representative Delbert L. Latta, Republican of Ohio.

This rehabilitation has some chance of succeeding because the 1982 elections swept in an extra 26 Democratic Representatives, and sent a message to the survivors that many voters believe the Reagan program went too far in slashing Government services.

Accordingly, many Democrats believe they can further shore up their standing with voters next year by increasing funds for popular programs. And they are not about to take the risk of advancing a tax hike unless President Reagan takes the lead. Similarly, the President apparently has no intention of exposing his political flanks by expounding such an increase. Instead, he is tramping around the country, talking about the importance of education, gambling that the economic recovery will stay strong.

In this climate, appeals for budgetary restraint tend not to carry far. "We're well into a political mode already," Mr. Conable said. "This is the longest Presidential campaign in history, and it's not likely we'll accomplish much this fall."

## Experts Warn Against Seeing Safety in New Numbers

# Do Lower Statistics Mean Less Crime?

By LESLIE MAITLAND WERNER

WASHINGTON — Two Justice Department studies released this month show unexpected declines in the national crime rate last year, but no one appears to be rushing to celebrate or to claim credit for breaking the rising curve of previous years.

Most officials regard the latest figures with cautious reserve. For example, Attorney General William French Smith said the decline cited in both reports is "very encouraging," but "it's too early to say whether it is a trend."

Paul Zolde, chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's uniform crime reporting section — which is responsible for one of the two reports — said "the trouble with data like this is that it takes a long time to tell if there has been a real turnaround."

"In 1980, we hit an all-time high, and 1981 was relatively stable, so coming down a few points is not all that dramatic," Mr. Zolde explained. "It suggests a reason for cautious optimism. But if history is the teacher here, this could just be an inverted bubble, and the figures could just go back up again."

The F.B.I. study — originally begun by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and subsequently taken over by the bureau — draws its figures from reports filed with more than 15,000 law enforcement agencies, covering 97 percent of the population. The bureau's latest Uniform Crime Report, providing data for 1982, said the total of 12.9 million serious violations reported to the police was the lowest recorded since the 12.2 million level of 1979.

"Serious crime dropped 3 percent last year from the 1981 volume, the first significant decline since 1977," F.B.I. Director William H. Webster announced. But he added, "Considering longer time frames, the 1982 total was up 15 percent over the 1978 figure and 47 percent higher than in 1973."

The F.B.I. survey of murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, larceny and arson showed declines in all categories except aggravated assault, which went up 1 percent.

The second study, the National Crime Survey of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, similarly recorded an overall decrease of 4.1 percent in victimization. Conducted annually for the past 10 years by the Census Bureau, this study relies on interviews with more than 130,000 people in about 58,000 households and attempts to monitor all crime, not just those incidents reported to police.

Its new report says the number of incidents dropped from 41.5 million in 1981 to 39.8 million last year and the largest decline was a 10 percent drop in household burglary. There were 78.2 burglaries per 1,000 households, representing the lowest figure since 1973, according to the Justice report. But Steven R. Schlesinger, director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, also said, "I think it's dangerous to extrapolate too much from one year's data."

On the other hand, one of his survey's more interesting sets of figures reflect the finding that only 35.7 percent of the crimes committed were reported to the police, a slight increase from the 35.5 percent finding of 1981.

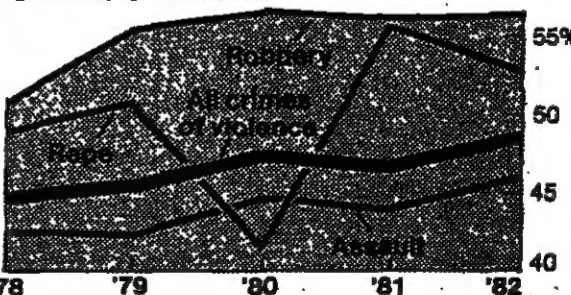
According to Dr. Schlesinger, a political sci-

## Some speak up

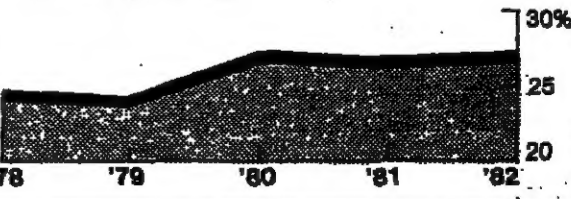
Percent of those reporting crimes to local police

### Personal sector

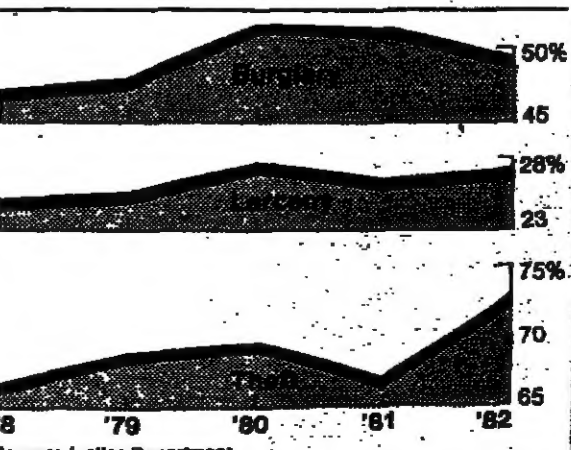
#### Crimes of violence



#### Crimes of theft



### Household sector



Source: Justice Department

tist, victims cite various reasons for not reporting a crime. Some think the matter too personal or not important enough, some lack faith in authorities, some may fear retaliation, and some are reluctant to get caught up in the slow-moving machinery of the criminal justice bureaucracy.

Whatever the motive, victims' reluctance to report crimes has produced two sets of figures, and there are problems with each. Critics point out that the F.B.I.'s study is completely dependent on the reports it receives from local authorities, who may have their own reasons to over-

under-report the amount of crime in their jurisdictions.

And the Census Bureau's study has been criticized as being tainted by perceptions that vary with each locality; what is viewed as a serious crime by a citizen of a small town may be shrugged off by a big city resident as an unpleasant bit of everyday life.

Both the F.B.I. and the Bureau of Justice Statistics are now reviewing the efficacy of their crime-counting systems. The F.B.I. is evaluating whether it needs to monitor new categories of crime, for example, and the statistics bureau hopes to broaden and refine its questionnaire.

According to Dr. Schlesinger, his agency plans to collect new information on victims' reactions to law enforcement and on ways of best avoiding victimization. Both agencies also hope that improvements will enable them to combine their separate sets of figures.

## A Plethora of Theories

"In the past, there has been the sense that they have not been sufficiently related," Dr. Schlesinger said. "The goal now is to tie the two reports together."

Meanwhile, analysts are advancing theories to explain the apparent decline in crime figures. Children of the post-World War II baby boom are growing out of the young, crime-prone years, experts suggested, and in many communities residents may be more actively keeping a watch on their own neighborhoods.

Another reason some authorities cite is what Mr. Smith described as "more strenuous law enforcement efforts," with both prosecutors and judges becoming tougher. And central to this explanation, Mr. Smith and other Government officials claim — perhaps not unkindly of how talk of crime-fighting plays with the voters — is the Justice Department's nationwide effort to concentrate on so-called career criminals or repeat offenders.

Dr. Schlesinger said this campaign had helped create a record prison population of 423,000 inmates — 100,000 more local and Federal prisoners than two years ago.

In New York, Manhattan District Attorney Robert M. Morgenthau and Police Commissioner Robert McGuire agreed that career criminal programs were the major reason for a downturn in recent crime figures.

"We've seen a significant decrease in the past two years," Mr. McGuire said. "We're going after the right people in a more focused way, after the guys who commit crimes as a profession."



## 'MR. OIL SHALE': Fred L. Hartley

## Union Oil's Tenacious Chief

By THOMAS C. HAYES

LOS ANGELES  
THE lobby of the Union Oil Company of California's headquarters here is filled with plaques, paintings and mementos celebrating great moments in the company's past — most of it in the last 15 years and most of it starring Fred L. Hartley, chairman and president.

Here he is, painted in richly colored oils, standing with Gov. Richard Ogilvie of Illinois in 1970 as they prepare to activate a 140,000-barrel-a-day refinery in Romeoville, Ill.

There he is, depicted in bright acrylics, wearing a dark suit and white gloves as Park Chung Hee, the late president of South Korea, cuts a ceremonial ribbon in 1972 to open a refinery on a field where, according to an inscription, "General Douglas MacArthur made his daring Inchon landing in 1950."

And here is a painting of his wife, Peggy, christening a new oil tanker in 1971 with a hunting-wrapped champagne bottle. The bottle and its stained cloak are enshrined in a glass case below.

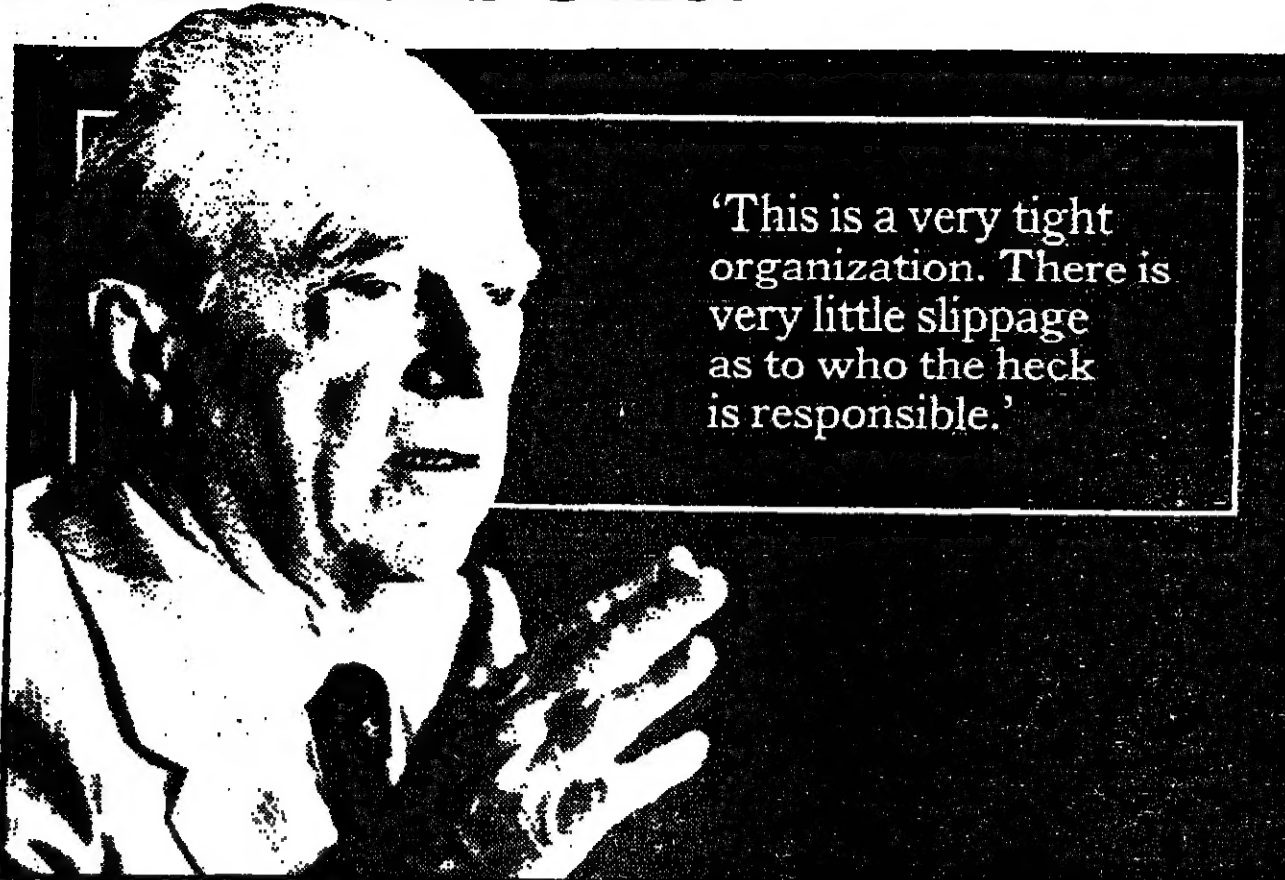
It has been a long and eventful history for both the man and the company. But whether there will be great moments to preserve in Union's future and that of its 66-year-old chairman is much in question today.

Over the years, Union has grown to a multibillion-dollar oil and gas giant — the nation's 14th largest in sales. In 1982, it ranked above the industry average in return on investment, at 18.2 percent. And in a year when profits at many major oil companies were off, Union's climbed a bit last year, by 1.5 percent, to \$804 million.

But as the gruff, venerable Mr. Hartley enters the twilight of his career at Union's helm, with no indication that he intends soon to loosen his tenacious hold over the company, its earnings have begun to sag. While the overall oil industry is expected to show a modest profit uptick for the year, and its major stocks have enjoyed a rally on Wall Street, Union has been a market wallflower. And the company has made a daring commitment to shale oil production, long after other oil giants abandoned the idea as uneconomical in the face of cheaper crude oil prices.

Under the company's banner, on a mountainside high above an isolated Colorado river valley, the nation's first commercial oil shale plant is expected to start turning out jet and military diesel fuel for the Defense Department sometime this year.

But many oil analysts and executives, noting that crude prices have



'This is a very tight organization. There is very little slippage as to who the heck is responsible.'

Associated Press

fallen in recent years, are wondering whether it is worth Union's while to pursue more costly shale oil.

Mr. Hartley rejects that view as "short-sighted."

Union's stake in oil shale is an other instance of Mr. Hartley's philosophy of investing for the long haul by accentuating technological innovation. An engineer by training, he has always stayed close to the lab and the field, and Union's research facility near Los Angeles bears the evidence — it is named the Fred L. Hartley Research Center.

He arrived at Union Oil in 1939, a young civil engineer fresh from Vancouver with a suitcase full of dirty clothes and \$25 in his pocket. Starting out as a maintenance worker at a refinery in San Francisco, he worked his way up through the engineering ranks — he was head of research at one time — and into the top echelons of management. Last year he pocketed \$561,667 in salary and \$338,675 in bonuses and other considerations.

He has controlled Union for nearly two decades, and currently operates it through a six-member executive committee. He is chairman and president both of Union and its new holding company, the Unocal Corporation.

While most companies separate the offices of chief executive and chief operating officer, he in effect plays both roles at Union. "This is a very tight

organization," Mr. Hartley said. "There is very little slippage as to who the heck is responsible."

At least one analyst has a slightly different perspective. "He's a bit of a dictator," said Todd Bergmann, an oil industry analyst with Goldman Sachs & Company. "Then again, the guy has done a pretty good job."

Although Union ranked 14th in total sales in 1982, at \$10.9 billion, it was 10th in profits, at \$804 million. Union also has been the industry's most efficient producer of new oil for the last five years, averaging \$2.43 a barrel in production costs, compared with the least efficient, Amerasia Hess, at \$11.83 a barrel, according to Petroleum Analysis Ltd., a research firm.

"They sort of roll along without a tremendous amount of fanfare, but they have actually done a better job than most of the domestic companies," said Barry Good, oil analyst at Morgan Stanley & Company.

Yet, for all its success and innovation, Union has been hurt this year by the slump in demand for natural gas and chemicals and intermittent price wars at the gas pump. Its second-quarter profits were down by 29 percent, to \$139.4 million, or 80 cents a share, while revenues declined 3.5 percent, to \$2.8 billion.

Some analysts say Mr. Hartley has spent too heavily on what they regard

as exotic feats of engineering, sacrificing profitability in pursuit of such technology as shale oil, geothermal plants and deep-water rigs.

Investors have not been impressed. Union has been something of a wallflower in this year's stock market rally among domestic oil companies. Competitors like Getty Oil, Standard Oil of Ohio and Amerasia Hess — which some analysts regard as the three strongest of the group because of their domestic reserves — have turned in gains of 50 percent or more compared with 22 percent at Union. Its shares closed at \$31 Friday on the New York Stock Exchange.

Mr. Hartley, who had open-heart surgery in 1969, said that he travels about 40 percent of the time, largely to Union's important gas operations off the coast of Thailand. When at home in Palos Verdes Estates about 20 miles south of Union's headquarters in downtown Los Angeles, he often takes a swim in the family pool at 6 A.M. And on occasional weekends he takes his 50-foot power boat, "My Way," on outings.

It will be a proud day for him when the shale oil project gets under way. Around the industry they call him "Mr. Oil Shale," and his fascination for the process goes back at least 45 years, when he wrote on the topic of oil shale fuels in a college thesis.

management takes action, the economy turns around, the company is taken over, or new management is put in place," he says.

The trouble with the investment business in general, says Mr. Torray, is that "everyone is looking for the big winners and wants short-term results. If the information suggests that the outlook is bright and that the present is favorable, they don't realize that all this is already reflected in the share price."

Mr. Torray also faults Wall Street for becoming too mired in detail. "I personally think investing is a very simple business. With a little common sense and patience anyone can do well at it. Most people make it too difficult and out think themselves." Indeed, Mr. Torray appears to rely more on his own experience and gut feeling when buying and selling stocks. Mr. Torray, whose official title is president and chairman, spends a good deal of time traveling in the firm's corporate jet and limousine to quarterly meetings with clients. Mr. Clark, on the other hand, is an analyst by background and is more the expert on the nitty-gritty details of the stocks the firm owns. He is executive vice president and shares responsibility for investment decisions with Mr. Torray.

THE firm's current holdings of \$300 million in stocks are concentrated in only 28 positions, many of which make Torray & Clark the largest shareholder. It holds over two million shares each of three steel companies — Bethlehem, Republic and Armco — and giant blocks of a number of other heavy industrial companies, such as Clark Equipment, Cleveland Cliffs, Crown Zellerbach and International Paper. "They're all dull, but they have a lot of earnings leverage," says Mr. Torray. Although he does not expect to sell any of his major holdings until there is a big surge in prices, he adds, "I wouldn't buy any of these now at their current prices."

If he is convinced that present holdings are no longer undervalued than why doesn't he sell them and go 100 percent in cash? Responds Mr. Torray, "Fifty percent in cash is pretty extraordinary to begin with. We could be wrong on a timing basis so we owe it to our clients to be hedged."

Mr. Torray is convinced that sooner or later the market will fall out of bed. "I've seen it happen before, regardless of all the talk now about the emergence of a new era. And how can you really argue that this time we are much better off?"

Nor does he buy the case for technology stocks. "Year in and year out people have said about technology that it will save us and change the face of the earth," he said. "That's nothing new. Sure there are a lot of good things out there. When you get a massive entry of interest, however, competition gets intense for the companies and investors bid up the stocks. It all gets to be ridiculous."

The only thing that will bring Torray & Clark back in as a big buyer of stocks is for the market as a whole to drop below the 1,100 level on the Dow from today's 1,200 or so — with the type of wash-out that makes a number of industries and stocks begin selling as if the Dow fell from 1,200 to 700, says Mr. Torray. Until then, he said, "Things have gone too far too fast. We are in one of those phases when people just want to speculate. It's best to just sit here and do what's right."



The New York Times / George Thomas

Robert Torray of Torray &amp; Clark

is selling and will sell when everyone else is buying. Throughout the darkest days of the 1982 bear market, Torray & Clark frequently was one of the only bidders for large blocks of stock.

One of its biggest positions was in the beleaguered savings and loan group, where it bought between one and three million shares of a number of stocks such as H.F. Ahmanson and Great Western Financial. It has reduced those positions, including a three-million-share block of Fannie Mae and a block of one and a half million shares of Gibraltar Savings of Texas, for a profit of more than \$40 million to investors, says Mr. Torray.

Mr. Torray makes no pretense at being able to pick the bottom or the top of the market. Describing an investment style that would terrify most money managers, Mr. Torray says matter-of-factly that "on balance, most of the stocks we buy go down after an initial purchase, sometimes as much as 50 percent. So we continue to buy them."

The key, he points out, is that the firm is "extremely patient." Out of about 300 stock positions held since 1971, only 16 have been closed out at a loss. And even the losses were minor, he says.

Like any other investor, Mr. Torray looks for stocks that he thinks are undervalued. But in his case, the stocks have been pounded down, are selling well below their book value per share and usually have a high yield. A typical candidate is a company with depressed earnings, operating below its potential in an essential industry. After screening out possible bankruptcy situations, Mr. Torray takes his plunge because these kinds of companies, he says, always bounce back. "Either

## INVESTING / Fred R. Bleakley

## Tactics of a Maverick Money Manager

By betting against the crowd, Robert Torray has outperformed the market. His current advice: Hold Tight.

BETHESDA, Md.  
SHORTLY after the start of stock market trading last Monday, pension fund manager Robert Torray bet his head trader \$5 that the Dow Jones industrial average would close with a loss for the day. A tough wager to win, considering that the bulls already were roaring and that the Dow was up nearly 20 points at the time.

Mr. Torray is used to betting against the crowd, though. He is continually doing so with the \$2 billion in assets — \$1.6 billion of which is for equity-oriented accounts — that he manages for 30 corporate, union and municipal pension funds at his firm, Torray & Clark, in Bethesda, Md., just outside Washington. And, more often than not, he is right, as was the case last Monday when the rally evaporated and the Dow fell almost 11 points.

By sticking to a contrarian investment philosophy that eschews what is in vogue, Torray & Clark has earned the reputation of being one of the savviest investment management firms around and one of the most courageous. Its current investment stance, for instance, clearly sets it apart.

At a time when most money managers are close to fully invested as they eagerly await the second stage of the bull market, Torray & Clark has about half of its equity portfolio parked in cash investments. It's been that way now for more than six months. And Mr. Torray vows it will stay that way until he sees much of the speculative fever wrung out of the market. "I just don't think it's worth the risk to confirm the popular view that the market is going to 1,500 or 2,000," he said.

Swimming against the investment tide has paid off for the 46-year-old Mr. Torray, who set up Torray & Clark near his home in Chevy Chase in a early 1970's with David Clark, now 41 years old, a fellow refugee from the money management arm of a brokerage firm. The company's overall performance for its stock and bond portfolios is one of the best among pension fund managers: Its average gain of 15.8 percent a year for the 10 years ending December 1982 far outpaced the Standard & Poor's 500 index average of 6.7 percent and the Salomon Brothers high-grade corporate bond index return of 6.1 percent for the same period. In this year's first half, Torray & Clark outperformed the S. & P. despite its limited commitment to equities.

Among the big Wall Street trading houses, Torray & Clark is known as one of the few firms that will buy giant blocks of stock when everyone else

Fred R. Bleakley writes on finance from New York.

## The Economy

## WEEK IN BUSINESS

## Osborne's Collapse Sobers the Industry

With orders evaporating, creditors knocking at its doors and \$45 million in debt, the Osborne Computer Company sought shelter by filing for corporate reorganization under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Act. The development was just another in a woeful string of losses and dismissals that had sobered the high-flying personal computer industry in recent months. Osborne was once a golden boy of the industry. Founded by a brash British entrepreneur, Adam Osborne, the company pioneered the low-cost portable computer and packaged software. But competition from other portable computer makers plus ill-timed product announcements this year left Osborne with almost no cash flow. As a competitor said, "One of the big hitters just hit the dust."



Adam Osborne

Another Adam was having his troubles. Coleco's much-touted Adam Computer has been awaiting approval by the F.C.C. for weeks, but delays continue. Agency officials said the company had failed to provide the software to run the computer's printer and thus it had suspended testing. Shipment delays will be at least a month now, and could cost Coleco substantial fall sales.

L.B.M. Drops Another Shoe. The computer giant introduced two new powerful models that bridge the gap between its least expensive mainframes and its top-of-the-line minicomputers. The long-awaited units, called the Glendale series, should cause considerable trouble for other minicomputer makers such as Digital Equipment and Data General.

Dust Bowl Blues. The nation's worst drought in 50 years will produce a corn harvest half as large as last year's record crop, and the soybean crop will drop by one-third, according to the Government's September crop report. Because corn and soybeans are the nation's primary feedgrains, the immediate impact will be lower meat prices as farmers sell off live-stock. But next winter and spring, as feedlot stocks dwindle, prices should begin a strong surge. Agriculture Secretary John Block didn't seem too concerned last week, but Sam Naka-gama, a Wall Street economist, called the drought "the most bearish development of the summer."

The economy showed more modest growth. Industrial production in August rose nine-tenths of 1 percent — the ninth consecutive monthly increase and a slowing from previous gains. The nation's factories, mines and utilities increased their operating rate to 76.7 percent — the highest in two years — retail sales fell 1.4 percent and sales by the Big Three auto makers rose a not-so-spectacular 21 percent in the first 10 days of September, reflecting depleted dealer inventories.

The stock market kept worrying about interest rates. Despite favorable money supply figures the week before, the Dow Jones industrial average lost 14 points and closed at 1,225.71. In the credit markets, prices fell through most of the week, with in-

terest rates rising. And though Friday's jump of \$5.5 billion in the money supply was within the expected range because of Social Security payments, bond prices continued to drift lower.

Baldwin-United's crown jewel went on the auction block. The troubled financial services company plans to sell MGIC Investment, which it bought in 1982 for \$1.2 billion. Baldwin currently has more than \$1 billion in short-term debt, but only part of the proceeds from the sale will be used to pay off the debt. The rest will go toward paying holders of Baldwin annuities, whose assets have been threatened by the company's troubles. Baldwin's chairman, Victor Palmieri, insisted, "This isn't a fire sale," but analysts predicted the company would get back only half of MGIC's original purchase price.

Chrysler outbid three other securities groups and captured the 14.4 million warrants held by the Government. Through Salomon Brothers, the No. 3 auto maker made a winning bid totaling \$311 million, or \$21.60 per warrant. To the relief of Chrysler management, it can now retire the warrants, which represented an uncontrolled 12.2 percent block of Chrysler's common stock "bouncing around the market," said one company official. "That's exactly what we wanted to prevent."

"You'll make more money and I will, too." Those now infamous words plus some deleted expletives by the president of American Airlines to the head of Braniff, will not cause much more trouble for American's Robert Crandall. A Federal judge in Dallas dismissed a Justice Department antitrust suit on the ground that the conversation, taped by Braniff's Howard Putnam, did not constitute an attempt to fix prices and monopolize air routes. Judge Robert Hill noted that though the remarks were at best "unprofessional and his choice of words distasteful, the remedy does not lie in the antitrust laws."

Nathaniel C. Nash

## The New York Stock Exchange

## MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED SEPTEMBER 16, 1983

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

MerLy ..... 7,277,700 36% - 5%

ATT ..... 5,581,400 67% + %

Exxon ..... 4,626,100 38 - 1%

Chrysr ..... 4,438,000 29% - %

IBM ..... 4,158,900 123% + %

Chrysr ..... 4,141,000 38 + 4%

A Exp ..... 4,089,800 38% + %

K mart ..... 3,959,000 36% + %

Phib S ..... 3,758,700 28% - 1%

Nwst En ..... 3,334,400 36% + 4%

Cmw E ..... 3,038,200 27% - %

Diam S ..... 3,027,400 25% - %

G Mot ..... 2,921,600 71% - 1%

US Steel ..... 2,866,900 29 - 1

Gulf Oil ..... 2,651,500 41% + %

Standard &amp; Poor's

400 Indust ..... 191.9 183.9 187.3 -1.08

20 Transp ..... 31.5 30.3 31.3 +0.36

40 Util ..... 66.2 64.9 65.6 +0.28

15 Financ ..... 19.2 18.8 18.9 +0.08

500 Stocks ..... 169.9 163.1 166.2 +0.68

Dow Jones

30 Indust ..... 1262.8 1210.1 1225.7 -14.03

20 Transp ..... 580.7 556.1 572.7 +3.07

15 Util ..... 133.3 130.6 131.8 +0.72

65 Comb ..... 500.0 481.4 488.8 +2.02

## The American Stock Exchange

## MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED SEPT. 16, 1983

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

WangB ..... 1,698,300 33% + 3

Cyprus ..... 1,488,600 8% + %

ImpCh ..... 1,202,900 3% + %

Amdih ..... 991,100 19 + 2%

DomeP ..... 715,300 47/16 - %

ChmpH ..... 571,900 5% - %

Somk wC ..... 521,000 5% + %

TIE ..... 492,000 35% - 2%

HouOTr ..... 486,500 11% + %

InstSy ..... 378,300 2% - %

MARKET DIARY

Last Week Prev.

Advances ..... 287 497

Declines ..... 502 290

Total Issues ..... 919 914

New Highs ..... 44 43

New Lows ..... 15 5

VOLUME

(A.P.M. New York Close)

Last Week Year

Total Sales ..... 407,391,050 15,273,500,152

Same Per. 1982 ..... 355,107,230 10,236,881,452

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High Low Last Change

New York Stock Exchange

Indust ..... 113.9 110.7 111.9 -0.82

Transp ..... 95.3 92.7 94.8 +0.73

Util ..... 48.1 47.6 48.1 +0.52

Finance ..... 97.9 96.1 97.0 +0.36

Composite ..... 87.7 85.1 86.1 +0.37

VOLUME

(A.P.M. New York Close)

Last Week Year

Total Sales ..... 30,266,400 1,570,753,244

Same Per. 1982 ..... 25,337,290 788,239,595



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Foxes, Chickens and Hunger

If you are President of the United States, what do you do when people are going hungry?

- Feed them.
- Appoint a committee.
- Cut spending for food assistance.

Ever since Lyndon Johnson declared war on poverty and Richard Nixon resolved to end hunger in America, the answer usually has been (a). President Reagan's answer is (b) and (c).

True, this Administration has spent billions to feed hungry people, but at sharply reduced levels — and in the face of an increase in hunger. The evidence of need is apparent everywhere.

Unemployment remains high — and so does the number of people whose unemployment benefits have expired. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a nonprofit research group, finds a dramatic increase in patronage at soup kitchens and emergency feeding programs. The nation's mayors say hunger is their No. 1 concern.

The Census Bureau reports that 15 percent of the population — a 17-year high — has fallen below the official poverty line, based on a Spartan food budget. "We're getting a whole lot of people who don't know how to be poor," says the head of a Seattle program.

Until recently, Mr. Reagan's comments on hunger tended toward the anecdotal. He told a story, for instance, mocking food stamps, the major anti-hunger program: A man uses \$10 in food stamps to buy an orange and then uses the change to buy a bottle of vodka. It's only a story, impossible in real life. Cash is used for food-stamp change only when the amount is less than a dollar.

Lately, in response to the increase in hunger, Mr. Reagan has become verbally alarmed. "I am deeply concerned about the extent to which we have a problem which should not exist in this great and wealthy country," he said last month. And now he has appointed a study committee, asking it for a "no-holds-barred" report by Jan. 31. The background of some prominent members makes their appointment sound like asking foxes to design the chicken coop.

One of the 13 members is Dr. George Graham of

Johns Hopkins, who last spring told a Senate committee that hunger has been sensationalized and that "the nutritional status of our people, including low-income groups, is very good and continually getting better."

A second member is J. P. Bolduc, an official of a White House cost control survey that has called for harsh reductions in Federal food assistance. A third member, Kenneth Clarkson, was a Reagan budget official who helped design the Administration's sharp anti-hunger spending cuts. The only conspicuous Democrat is former Massachusetts Gov. Edward King, a pronounced conservative hostile to social welfare spending.

If there are members who want to increase Federal anti-hunger efforts, they'll have a hard time being heard.

What makes the outlook more discouraging is the reality of Administration intentions for fiscal 1984, which begins Oct. 1, just three weeks after the committee's appointment. According to the Congressional Budget Office, food-stamp spending will be \$2 billion less than it would have been without the cuts Mr. Reagan has already won. Beyond that, the Administration is asking Congress to cut another billion in 1984.

In four years, the Administration will spend about \$7 billion less for food stamps than the \$55 billion that would otherwise have been available, a cut of 13 percent.

Such cosmic numbers mask personal reality. It's not as if benefits are generous in the first place; they average 46 cents a meal. The Administration says it's only cutting out waste, or cutting off the richest of the poor. In fact, benefits are down even for people below the poverty line. And those receiving full benefits have trouble making them last. Small wonder that the soup kitchen lines are longer.

The good news is that, at last, the President is responding to the plight of America's hungry, at least with words. The better news, if he's serious about the shame of hunger, would be for him to put his money where their mouths are.

## To Persist With Arms Control

President Reagan's decision not to let the Soviet attack on a Korean airliner disrupt arms control talks was a courageous rebuff to some of his conservative allies. New evidence of Soviet paranoia only strengthens the case for curbing the arms race and maintaining a stable military balance. The question now is whether the aim is talk or agreement. For real progress, the President has to seek difficult compromises.

Doubt about his approach arises from his past reluctance and the presence of some advisers who regard negotiations as a mere tactic for avoiding arms control. They seem to believe that Mr. Reagan can exploit the airliner affair to win Congressional votes for the MX missile and the defense budget and also to overcome resistance in Europe to the deployment of new American missiles. But they exaggerate the propaganda gains and misread American interests.

Substantial American initiatives in the arms control talks continue to be the prerequisites for Congressional and allied support of the Administration's weapons policies. The airliner incident has not erased the memory of the President's long hostility to negotiations. He shelved the SALT II treaty, even while observing it, and suspended negotiations to ban antisatellite weapons, chemical arms and all nuclear tests. Foot-dragging on Euro-missiles and strategic arms was followed by unrealistic proposals for disproportionate Soviet cutbacks.

Now, technology is driving the race in strategic and antisatellite weapons. And time is running out for an agreement that could prevent a new competi-

tion in medium-range missiles in Europe. Despite outward steadfastness, the allied governments are worried about how long they can support deployments in the absence of rigorous negotiation.

Mr. Andropov's recent offer to destroy rather than merely relocate SS-20 missile launchers that might be removed from Europe stirred some new hope for a deal, though it ignored the overall imbalance. To achieve agreement — or clearly blame the Russians for failure — the allies want Washington to try to revive last year's informal but aborted accord, which both sides now reject. It abandoned American deployment of Pershing 2 missiles in return for a ceiling of 75 cruise missile launchers for the United States and 75 SS-20's for the Soviet Union.

A more flexible American position in the separate strategic arms talks is similarly a prerequisite posed by key Washington legislators. They want the President to drop his unrealistic demand for a total restructuring of the Soviet forces and to adopt the proposal of the Scowcroft Commission that both Soviet and American forces be gradually shifted toward small, single-warhead missiles. Without more negotiable American proposals, it is unlikely that the Administration can prevail with even limited development of the MX.

No agreements, of course, are possible without comparable movement in Soviet positions. Experience suggests that flexibility emerges most often in Moscow in reply to reasonable American initiatives. After the Soviet humiliation in the airliner affair, a sound offer on the table might well evoke such flexibility.

### Topics

## Earfuls, Eyefuls

### Misfire

The Governors of New York and New Jersey must have had a bad case of Glen Cove disease when they refused to let U.N.-bound Soviet diplomats fly into Kennedy or Newark Airports this week. First detected in the Long Island mayor who bars Russians from his beaches, G.C. is a hallucinatory disorder that causes local politicians to imagine themselves President or Secretary of State and to take charge of diplomacy in a fit of demagoguery. (It should not be confused with Ohio Syndrome, which has inspired another Governor to lubricate the opinion polls with public spills of Soviet vodka.)

Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Kean professed that they could not "guarantee the safety" of Foreign Minister Gromyko at their airports. Governor Cuomo evidently forgot that he would nonetheless have had to protect Mr. Gromyko after he reached the United Nations by some other route. The Russians have now reminded him of that by canceling the Gromyko visit.

The two Governors yearned to express their moral outrage about the

Soviet destruction of a South Korean airliner, even if that meant thwarting the wish of the Federal Government, which is supposed to manage foreign relations and retaliations. That the Governors' action also yielded highly desirable publicity was not, presumably, incidental. Now it yields some publicity that is much less desirable. For it underscores a state responsibility, on behalf of the nation, as host to the United Nations. The greater the tension in some part of the world, the more important what happens at the U.N. It was there that the United States displayed its evidence about the airliner affair and where Mr. Gromyko would surely have gotten an earful this week. American local commanders should not be interfering with air travel in ways that embarrass and obstruct the purposes of the nation.

### September Trophies

Brooklyn's Atlantic Avenue, lined with plumbing concerns, auto body shops and tinny-up tenements, is one of the city's least bucolic drags. Yet

when fall arrives, it's the gateway to a weekly pastoral pilgrimage.

Each Sunday around sunset, a woman we know hikes out to a weed lot surrounded by gas stations, a housing project and a burned-out warehouse to forage for wildflowers.

This time of year it's a trek, through high grasses strewn with cockleburrs and thistles, mops of ragweed, poison ivy. Armed with fine Japanese secateurs, she presses on, completes her task and recrosses the six lanes of Atlantic Avenue. With her bundle of the city's own brightly colored wildlings, she makes a spectacle that's been known to startle drivers accustomed to urban blight.

These September Sundays, her trophies include goldenrods, asters and sweet everlasting — all captured during their final burst of bloom. As the season turns, she shifts to deadhead bouquets, mostly the browns of dried flowers. These rarely merit any glances, but that's all right with our friend. All the way home, deadhead by deadhead, she drops the seeds in barren patches, on a railroad overpass, in derelict front yards, insuring another spectacle next summer.

### Letters

## The Primary Concern Is Party Accountability

To the Editor:

Senator Lowell Weicker may know what will augment his influence within the Connecticut Republican Party, but The Times's case for endorsing his proposal ("Let Connecticut Voters Vote," editorial Aug. 28) will not bear analysis.

Like proponents of the direct primary for the past 80 years, Senator Weicker, in proposing that so-called independents be allowed to vote in primaries without having to affiliate with a party, is engaged in a classic factional maneuver: To increase your faction's influence over nominations, increase the cast of characters eligible to make the decision.

It might work for Senator Weicker in his struggle with the conservative elements of the Republican state party, but it certainly would hurt Connecticut's party system. You are unfair in charging Governor O'Neill with acting "piously" when he opposes the Weicker notion as a threat to the two-party system.

Every extension of the direct primary since its adoption in Wisconsin in 1903 has had the effect of weakening the two parties. A major reason for the comparative strength of the two Connecticut parties is that this state was the last in the "lower 48" to adopt the direct primary system. One cannot deny this point by reckless assertions about "the power of party potentates to select candidates."

Primary elections, moreover, tend to discriminate against minorities and to be influenced by non-party extremists; a strong party in convention is likely to produce through its "potentates" a balanced ticket and one responsive to new demands from within the state. The latter seems to be the case with the Connecticut Democrats, who manage their affairs with infrequent resort to the direct primary.

The general electorate has responded by electing Democrats to all

but one of the statewide offices, as you note, though with a different implication. The Democrats are not defending an illicit monopoly, as you imply, but are merely expressing a wish to avoid the destructive factional squabbling that has crippled the Republicans.



The real issue raised by the Weicker proposal is more fundamental, however, than the comparatively trivial one of the Senator's factional fortunes — which is what makes your argument astonishingly superficial.

That issue is accountability, enforced by the most essential democratic right to throw the rascals out, and institutionalized in a system of competing party organizations. The direct primary system, although sometimes a response to abuses of the convention system of nomination, tends to undermine such accountability by making the nominee responsive to a small segment of the electorate that has no responsibility for governing. A primary electorate cannot be held accountable; a party organization can.

Non-responsibility is limited in most states by granting participation

in a party's primary only to those voters willing to make the minimal commitment to party organization by registering as a party affiliate. To open primary participation to any open primary voter, as Senator Weicker's proposal would do, is to destroy this protection.

For you to assert in this context that "Anything that brings out more voters will strengthen . . . the two-party system" is simply nonsense. The open primary would in fact weaken the party system and in the process weaken accountability, already seriously undermined in our politics. That is something you ought to worry about, and not waste your influence on dangerous nonsense about opening primaries.

DAVID B. TRUMAN  
Hillsdale, N.Y., Aug. 31, 1983

### A Suit That Failed

To the Editor:

Once again, Senator Weicker has shamed the Connecticut Democratic Party. He has done so this time by asking his state Republican Party to open up its primaries to independent voters like myself, thus sharply contrasting himself to Gov. William O'Neill and other Democratic Party leaders who continue to prophesize that such an open primary system would destroy the two-party system.

In 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court summarily upheld a lower court decision throwing out my claim that the Connecticut closed primary law (providing that no person may vote in a party primary unless registered with the party) was unconstitutional. I had argued that participation by all voters in such primary elections is an exercise of the right to vote and the right to associate with others in support of a candidate and that by freezing independent voters out of the taxpayer-funded Republican and Democratic primaries, Connecticut was violating these rights. The judges disagreed.

That case represented the last best judicial hope for Connecticut's disenfranchised independent voters, currently totaling one-third of all voters in the state. Now, independent voters must seek out aggressive leaders, like Senator Weicker, to push our case in the realm of public opinion and seek to overturn legislatively these regressive political party protectionist measures known as the closed primary laws.

If opening up the party system to all voters weakens the current clubby two-party structure, in its place will emerge a broader, healthier, more democratic system that will jeopardize only those insulated politicians currently arguing for retention of the current system.

NATHAN NADER  
Winsted, Conn., Sept. 2, 1983

### What, Then, Is the Hot Line For?

To the Editor:

The more information the United States and the Soviet Union release about the destruction of the Korean aircraft, the more murky the total picture becomes.

From the very first there seems to me to have been one great unanswered question, and to this time that question has been ignored by both countries. The question is: Why did not President Reagan immediately use the "hot-line" link to the Kremlin to demand information about what had taken place?

He was, it is true, on vacation in

California when the first reports of the attack came in, but in a Sept. 6 news story, Larry Speakes is quoted as saying, "There was nothing Mr. Reagan could do at the White House that he could not do at the ranch."

The "hot line" was established in the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis to provide instant top-level communication in future emergencies. If the destruction of the Korean aircraft did not justify use of the "hot line" connection, one is entitled to ask what contingency would justify its use?

HENRY I. TRAGLE  
Amherst, Mass., Sept. 8, 1983

### Grain Is Not Russia's Root Economic Block

To the Editor:

Zygmunt Nagorski's "The Deal Goes Against the Grain" (Op-Ed Aug. 31) is a misleading assessment of post-revolutionary Soviet history. It ignores, for example, the contemporary economic understanding of the 1980 U.S. grain embargo.

The 1930's is crucial to any discussion of Soviet economics yet collectivization is given only passing mention. The Soviet economic model (as presented to many developing third-world countries) is based on the Stalinist industrialization of the 30's. Ignoring this rapid industrialization and the devastation of World War II which followed undermines Mr. Nagorski's historical perspective.

The view that insufficiency of grain is the determinant of the ailing Soviet economy has been widely discredited. The fundamental reforms needed to rescue their economy must be undertaken by the Soviets themselves. Indeed, the 1980 U.S. grain embargo showed that the Soviets were adept at finding grain from other sources, their compensating imports from Argentina suggesting the need for a Western "grain OPEC." At any rate, the Soviet economy was virtually unaffected by the 1980 embargo.

The Reagan Administration's grain pact is pragmatic and timely. As the recent Korean jetliner kill illustrates, Western influence within the U.S.S.R. is negligible. Certainly Soviet swords are not at the mercy of American plowshares.

GREGORY J. BROCK  
Columbus, Ohio, Sept. 2, 1983

### No Case for U.N. Intervention in Chad

To the Editor:

Prof. Piero Gleijeses offers some interesting comments on the effectiveness of French strategy in Chad (Op-Ed Aug. 28), but the suggestion that a United Nations peacekeeping force underwrite for two years a transitional government and prepare the way for elections hardly provides a useful contribution to the solution of an extremely complex issue.

The record of the United Nations in both peacekeeping and peacekeeping has been mediocre at best. In peacekeeping, in particular, the U.N. has fallen far short of the expectations of its founders and of those who have looked to the U.N. for the past 38 years to fulfill its primary raison d'être. In certain cases where the U.N. has actually intervened with peacekeeping or observer missions, it has fueled the already present violence by supporting wars of national liberation and by failing to control international terrorism.

This was particularly true in the Congo operation (O.N.U.C.) from 1960 to 1964, and in Lebanon (Unfil), beginning in 1978. In Lebanon, certain contingents of the U.N. force facilitated P.L.O. infiltration of Israeli lines and aided the movement and tactical advantage of the P.L.O. in the areas patrolled by Major Haddad's militia by providing both overt and covert aid to the Palestinians. The U.N. failure in Lebanon in a very

large sense led to the decisive Israeli response in June 1982, and to the present positioning of the multinational force in the Beirut area, where U.N. forces were not acceptable.

In almost all cases where the U.N. has intervened with peacekeeping forces, the U.N. has exacerbated tensions between nations by opening up sensitive regional and international issues to the divisive scrutiny of the General Assembly, and by allowing the Soviet Union, through its veto in the Security Council, to exercise influence in situations where maintaining tensions works to Soviet advantage.

The use of U.N. peacekeeping forces in Chad would only serve to create a situation which Professor Gleijeses appears desirous of avoiding. The global tensions that are now simmering in Chad would almost certainly come to a boil with the arrival of the blue-helmeted "peacekeepers." Anyone who has followed the recent debate in the Security Council on Chad could arrive at no conclusion far removed from this one.

The situation in Chad poses enormous problems today for all the parties involved in the conflict; the problems would be much more severe, however, were the U.N. to intervene.

ROGER A. BROOKS  
Washington, Sept. 7, 1983

The writer is a policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation's United Nations Assessment Project.

### It's About Time Medicare Heard the Message

To the Editor:

The Sept. 8 news story on President Reagan wearing a hearing aid in public concludes with Dr. John House saying that one out of three people over 60 have hearing problems. "Maybe the President doing this will help others realize that they can ease their problems with a hearing aid."

The article also says Mr. Reagan's device retails for \$800 to \$1,100. Now that the President will be able to hear those around him louder and clearer, it would be nice if the one third or more of the elderly who have

hearing problems could also hear their President louder and clearer.

However, among the items that Medicare does not cover are "hearing aids and hearing examinations for prescribing, fitting, or changing hearing aids."

Isn't it time that the Medicare rules were changed so that people who can't afford to pay over \$1,000 for a hearing aid and cannot have one donated to them by the manufacturer, may also be allowed to hear louder and clearer?

PAUL MILLER  
Stamford, Conn., Sept. 8, 1983



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WASHINGTON

# Leave It to the Marines?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17 — President Reagan's latest problem is that while he is the Commander in Chief of the armed forces as specified in the Constitution, he is not the chief commander on Capitol Hill. His troops are neither in nor out of the civil wars in Lebanon and Central America, and he can't be sure how long he can keep them in or when the Congress will order them out.

It's an awkward constitutional tussle between a President who can make war and a Congress that has sole responsibility to declare war, and it leaves the President in the ambiguous position of a famous Mother Goose character:

*The noble Duke of York,  
He had ten thousand men,  
He marched them up to the top of the hill,  
And he marched them down again.  
And when they were up, they were up,  
And when they were down, they were down,  
And when they were only half way up,  
They were neither up nor down.*

The President is in the same box with the Congress. At this delicate point in U.S.-Soviet relations after the Korean plane disaster, while he is trying to get out of trouble in Lebanon and Central America and negotiating nuclear arms control in Geneva, it must seem to Mr. Reagan an odd time for the Congress to challenge his authority and engage him in a divi-

sive constitutional debate, important as it is.

For in the confusion between the President and the Congress over war powers, it has scarcely been noted that in the chaotic military situation in Lebanon, the President has in a way delegated or at least risked his authority, not to the Congress, but to the local marine commanders around Beirut.

Having ordered the marines into the Beirut battle zone, where they are taking casualties, he has instructed them to call for the guns and bombers on the U.S. warships off shore to knock out their attackers when, in their judgment, this is necessary — without checking with their military and political superiors in Washington.

Even in these days of instant worldwide communication between the Pentagon and its field commanders, it's easy to understand why this step was taken. The President may be out horseback riding, as he was when the news of the Korean plane tragedy came in, and the local com-

manders have to defend their men.

But if authority to shoot in a local crisis is left to "local commanders" operating under standing orders and the emotions of the moment, strange things may happen.

According to the Soviet version of the Korean plane catastrophe, this is precisely what happened in that event. On Sept. 9 the chief of the Soviet General Staff, Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov, announced that the decision to shoot down the South Korean plane was taken by a "local commander," and that it was "not an accident or an error" — he suggested, authorized action by officers and pilots at the site.

This may or may not be true — the Russians have told so many lies that we can't be sure — but it is plausible enough to question the wisdom of leaving local military crises, which can become more dangerous regional or world crises, to local commanders.

For example, the marines in Beirut, who are being attacked by Druse, P.L.O. and Syrian weapons supplied

by the U.S.S.R., can now call in under Presidential authority U.S. guns and warships off shore. No doubt they could knock out the attacking batteries.

But as the attackers are within range of the U.S. warships close to the Beirut shore, so are the U.S. warships in range of the Syrian missiles, supplied by the Soviet Union, and the French missiles, now in Syrian possession, that blew the British ships out of the water in the battle of the Falklands.

This may be a crazy and scary scenario, and that is precisely the problem. The marines are in a crazy situation. The fights in Lebanon are so ancient and so vicious that anything could happen. The warring factions have so many modern weapons under their control, if that's the right word, that nobody knows what they might do with them, even against the U.S. warships within their range.

So it's not only the constitutional conflict between the President and the Congress that is worrying people here. That's what they're arguing about; but, more important, they are troubled about what the Administration is doing with all these men, ships and planes off Beirut and the Central American shores, and questioning in the Congress not only whether the President has the constitutional right to do what he's doing, but mainly whether he knows what he's doing or what the marines and his other "local commanders" may do in his name.

# Another 1914?

By Stanley Hoffmann

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The ghastly affair of the South Korean airliner had all the markings of events that so often have provoked world disasters: the combination of the accidental and the inevitable — like the shooting of an Austrian archduke at Sarajevo in 1914.

The plane's passage over Soviet airspace probably was accidental. It was inevitable that the Russians, with their fanatic commitment to the sacredness of their territory, their quest for total security, their fear of penetration and passion for secrecy, which all have deep roots in Russia's history and international experience, would in today's climate of Soviet-American relations act so brutally and show only defiance, not regret, once pushed to the wall by public indignation everywhere and by statements of America's highest officials.

The dreadful Soviet decision can clearly be seen as the product of another potentially catastrophic combination — of the Soviet military's vast autonomy in all matters of national security (including arms control) and of the Soviet conviction that the Reagan Administration has adopted a relentless, coherent strategy aimed at obtaining nuclear superiority, at waging ideological, political and economic warfare, at changing the world "correlation of forces," all at Moscow's expense, and at eliminating from Soviet-American competition the cooperation, however limited, that previous Presidents sought to preserve or enlarge at least since Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Are we thus propelled on a collision course, like the great powers at the beginning of this century?

Until recently, one could take comfort, paradoxically, from the one great transformation of international politics: the existence of nuclear weapons, which have injected extraordinary caution into the superpowers. Despite the global scope of their contests, their conflicting regimes, values and interests, they have so far avoided direct military clashes. When we had clear nuclear superiority, we were deterred by the fear that a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union would provoke a Soviet invasion of Western Europe. After that, the balance of terror resulted in what McGeorge Bundy has recently called "existential deterrence," a situation in which fear of mutual annihilation has prevented both sides from going too far.

Some commentators argue that this balance of terror led to America's prudence in its retaliation for the Soviet "massacre." President Reagan, at a news conference, reminded his audience (with dubious historical accuracy) of the sinking of the battle-

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ship Maine: It did provoke war with Spain, just as German submarine warfare in World War I triggered America's entry. But would the Russians have let the plane escape if it had been identified as American? If they had not, how would our Government have reacted?

In the long run, it is another combination of factors that gives the greatest cause for concern. They include the deterioration of relations, interruption of exchanges, breakdown in communications, the dialogue of the deaf in the various arms control negotiations, the escalation of hostile rhetoric. They include the effect on the Soviet Union of an American policy that, while blaming it for events that have roots as deeply local as those in Central America, rejects its claim to be a great power, and that refuses to acknowledge its interests in an area as close to the Soviet Union as the Middle East. They include the effects on America of a Soviet military buildup in Western Europe and in the Far East that seems aimed at intimidating America's friends and allies in peacetime and at neutralizing America's retaliatory nuclear force if war should break out.

Another factor is the evolution of the arms race. Stable deterrence — a condition in which neither side believes it could gain an advantage by striking first — is being undermined and replaced by a profoundly destabilizing condition in which each side accumulates weapons that are vulnerable to enemy attack, weapons that can destroy at least part of the enemy's weapons, and weapons that will soon become unverifiable: in other words, weapons that in a crisis may tempt either side to strike first in order to gain an advantage or to avoid a major defeat.

Despite denials, both sides seem working to make nuclear warfare possible, even though nobody knows how it could be waged "rationally" or kept controlled. In a situation of extreme tension, the illusion of limited nuclear war may appear preferable to any available political alternative.

The airliner tragedy points to the urgent need for a reversal of gears in the arms race and in political relations. Otherwise, the deterrence on which we rely out of habit will yield to a vicious circle in which every cooperative approach will look like appeasement and every show of strength like a provocation.

The Soviet decision has made a return to cooperation even more difficult and unlikely. Those who say there can be no such cooperation with a totalitarian and paranoid regime appear vindicated. And yet the logic of their own position is one of global war — which is unacceptable. As the former French Foreign Minister Couve de Murville used to say, if one doesn't want to make war, one must strive for peace. Peace through demonstrations of strength and self-righteousness alone will not last.

# To Rescue Public Radio

By Lawrence Lader

When a few classmates and I started a college radio station in 1939, we sought a high standard in cultural, informational and entertainment programming — a vision enlarged these days by National Public Radio. Unhappily, N.P.R. was almost destroyed recently by bankruptcy.

In 1939, probably no commercial station carried a full schedule of opera, symphony, jazz and folk music. We saturated the evening hours with such programming.

Perfecting our early efforts, National Public Radio and hundreds of its member stations must be considered cultural gems. N.P.R.'s audience is devoted, almost fanatical. Still, N.P.R. had to be saved from extinction by a last-minute loan, and its long-term survival remains dubious. Public-service television, too, has remained solvent only through incessant fund drives, and by foundation and corporate support. President Reagan's budget cuts for the arts, coupled with shrinking foundation revenues, have imperiled innovative and first-quality programming.

With an immediate critical need to bring financial stability to public broadcasting, the nation must look for a permanent solution. Fortunately, one approach is inherent in the legislation through which Congress regulates the airwaves. The Communications Acts of 1927 and 1934 established that the air belongs to the people. Each radio frequency is licensed for only seven years and each TV channel for five, and the licenses are renewed only if a station serves the "public interest, convenience and necessity."

Thus, the Government has given station owners a gift through which fortunes have been made — a gift subject to no down payment, royalty, air rent or franchise tax. The only cost to a station is an investment in studio plant and a transmission tower that hardly compares to the capitalization of most other industries.

The real profit for a radio station owner depends on this gift of a frequency — a profit demonstrated as early as 1942 when a Los Angeles station was sold for \$1.25 million. In 1981, a Chicago station went for \$9.2 million.

Lawrence Lader is author of eight books on various subjects and numerous articles.



liba, and a station in Marietta, Ga., (with less than 35,000 population) for \$7.5 million. President Lyndon B. Johnson's sizable personal fortune stemmed from the Texas licenses awarded him. The annual net income of radio and television networks, which are allowed to own stations, too, also reflect this gift: ABC netting more than \$160 million in 1982, CBS, hitting its peak with more than \$200 million in 1979.

Considering the money that has been made by station owners through use of public airwaves, it would seem logical that stations and networks owe the public something in return. Commercial radio and TV, therefore, should come to the rescue of public broadcasting by paying a tax set by Congress — or a license fee commensurate with their income. Such proceeds could go to the Corporation for

Public Broadcasting or a similar trust and be divided among public stations by a prearranged formula.

Money is not the only ingredient that insures that good programs reach the widest possible audience. Large areas of America are a listeners' wasteland. In Suffolk County, Long Island, for example, the airwaves are almost totally dominated by rock and country music. A listener has to search hard for Brahms or Benny Goodman, and will only hear them regularly within range of the excellent campus stations at the State University of New York at Stony Brook and at Southampton College, which have low power and cover only parts of the county.

The solution would be for the Federal Communications Commission to increase the power of qualified college stations so that a hungry audi-

ence can hear them 50 miles away. The main cost for increasing a small station to 5,000 watts or more would be for stepped-up voltage. College stations operate on minimal budgets, with most talent contributed by students. Costs could be financed by alumni or some dignified advertising.

Naturally, neither station owners nor Congress (many of whose members own stock in commercial broadcasting) will swarm to help public broadcasting. Moreover, the F.C.C. has been notoriously partial to business interests. But citizens' lobbies have been amazingly successful in improving children's programs on TV and forcing cigarette commercials off the air. What is needed is a lobby to guarantee the finances of public broadcasting and make certain that anyone preferring a symphony to rock can find his choice on his dial.

Lebanon today is with the Soviet Union. If Professor Lader wins, the U.S. will be holding out its nuclear carrots to a neutralist nation.

Fortunately, proliferation is one of those rare cases in which superpower interests are parallel. The U.S. should join with the U.S.S.R. in leaning against the pursuit of the bomb by the new government in Buenos Aires. Although we will be competing with the Russians for influence in Argentina, on that subject Moscow and Washington can agree to a superpower priority: Keep the nuclear club exclusive.

The same overriding concern should apply to our dealings with China, long a nuclear power, on matters atomic. Foggy Bottom has been smacking its lips at the prospect of selling Westinghouse reactors to Pakistan, build the Islamic bomb, and we cannot count on Israel to non-proliferate the Pakis as they did the Iraqis. Before we agree to deal with China, the U.S. should require a promise of safeguards on all its atomic exports and bomb-making data to other nations, complete with international inspection of Chinese civilian nuclear facilities.

First things first. The spread of nuclear weapons to additional nations is the likeliest road to world war. The U.S. Government should make clear to Argentina and other allies that our help in atomic energy development is available only to countries willing to pledge to forgo the bomb.

ESSAY

# Atoms for Argies

By William Safire

That question is slanted to elicit a no. But the Reagan Administration argues that our previous policy of refusing to cooperate on anything nuclear with non-signing countries did not stop their development, and left us with no connective tissue. That is why, in the dead of night, with a two-paragraph announcement in the Federal Register, the U.S. recently slipped Buenos Aires 143 tons of heavy water; now the Argies will at least talk to us about safeguards. Isn't some progress, and contact that might lead to more, better than a sterile all-or-nothing posture?

That is the way the Reagan men slant the question to elicit a yes, but the answer is still no. Old détenteis still hope that trade and aid to foes and friends will somehow make them dependent or grateful; that naïve approach does not work. The way to discourage any nation not now a member of the nuclear club from building a bomb is to bring our diplomatic, intelligence and economic pressure to bear to stop it.

The temptation to a proud people,

recently humiliated in war, to convert atomic facilities to bomb production is obvious. Argentines, with inflation approaching 500 percent, are flirting with bankruptcy. With abundant coal and hydroelectric energy resources, billions spent on atomic development are misdirected. They need our economic help; we should link that help to their willingness to join the nations willing to submit to close inspection of all atomic facilities.

Blackmail? You bet. Is it unfair for the nuclear nations to insist that other nations stay out of their club? Yes. But the need to stop the spread of nuclear weapons into more hands overrides all equity.

Argentina is now preparing for democratic elections next month, which will be the military junta's Good Deed. Although the middle-class candidate is getting most of the international media buildup, keep your eye on Italo Luder, the Peronist candidate, who is in the pocket of the unions. When Peronists are allowed to run, they win; they pioneered the "third position" in international affairs; over half the trade in

# Lebanon's Troubles Surpass Our Solutions

By I. F. Stone

WASHINGTON — The best way to get a firm fix on the Lebanese crisis is to imagine that the aircraft carrier Eisenhower, by a surgical strike, could wipe out all the foreign interlopers — Syrian, Israeli and Palestinian — and then in a splendidly limited nuclear paroxysm take out the two superpowers but leave Lebanon intact. Does anyone believe this would end the war between the Christian Maronites and the Moslem Druse — or any other of Lebanon's multitudinous and enthusiastic conflicts?

Even the Reagan White House, so ready to attribute all planetary disputes to "the empire of evil," can't quite bring itself — as yet — to be so simple-minded about Lebanon.

The real enemies of Lebanon are the Lebanese themselves. Of all the quarrels on earth, Lebanon's is the one least susceptible to a military solution.

Lebanon's troubles cannot be attributed to the Russian Revolution. The origin of its interminable sectarian feuds antedates such other relatively recent events as the Protestant Reformation and the Crusades — though the Maronites like to think of themselves as descendants of the Crusaders and not Arabs at all.

In fact, the Maronites and their combative separatism originated some 13 centuries ago in an early east-west conflict, the one that finally split both Christendom and the Roman Empire.

The story is instructive. When persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire ended, persecution by the Christians began. And when they had wiped out paganism, they turned their zeal to quarrels among themselves. Edward Gibbon, a product of the 18th century Enlightenment, dwells with an agnostic's malicious glee on the bloody hatreds among and between Christian sects. This is where the Maronites entered the pages of history, and you first read about them in Chapter 47 of his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

Christians managed to split apart on hairs so fine that it is hard today, except perhaps in Lebanon, to understand the theological niceties, much less the bloodshed they spawned. Two examples among many: Was the nature of Christ twofold — Man and God

— or One, Divine? One group of Christians believed that his nature was One. They called themselves Monophysites, and were hounded as heretics. A kindred view, even more subtle, was that while the nature of Christ might be twofold, as the orthodox insisted, he had only one will, not two. Its adherents were Monothelites. They too were persecuted. The Maronites were Monothelites.

Such exquisite theological conundrums were too much for the crude Romans and their Latin tongue. But the Greek-speaking parts of the Empire took to them with enthusiasm. Bloody riots swept the Greek Christians of the Empire, who were in a fraternal frenzy over such disagreements, and the Maronites, in the seventh century, fled their persecutors and took refuge in the mountains of the Liban.

There they have remained ever since, long looked at askance by Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox alike. An arm's length union with Rome did not come until the 18th century, when the Maronites finally agreed to give up such peculiar customs as "co-educational" monasteries in which nuns and monks lived together. But the Maronites retained their separate Syriac liturgy and a married priesthood.

As long as they were secure in their mountain strongholds, the Maronites lived happily at war with each other under feudal clan chieftains, as the rival Gemayels and Frangieh have done right down to our own day. It was not until the 18th century that they turned their energies outward and began their current feuds with the Moslem Druse.

Lebanon is a country that has never suffered from a lack of fratricidal divisions. The Moslems are as divided as the Christians into mutually antagonistic sects. Every sect has legitimate grievances and long memories. In Lebanon, everybody seems to hate everybody else. Feuding is a national sport.

How do you intervene in this brawl with artillery fire and shells? Are there any bombs that are smart enough to distinguish one side from another in the crowded city slums and mountain villages where ancient enemies live virtually side by side? It's like a huge family fight in a bar room where the lights were long ago shot out.

The country needs an invasion of psychiatrists and bulletproof vests. It's no place for our apple-cheeked and innocent Marines.

I. F. Stone is a veteran Washington correspondent.



# Arts & Leisure

## Ben Kingsley Leaps From 'Gandhi' to 'Kean'

By JUDY KLEMESRUD

**B**en Kingsley was in India filming "Gandhi" in 1980 when a script was delivered to his home near Stratford-on-Avon. "I've written this play for you," the author wrote in a note. The play was a one-character vehicle about Edmund Kean, the brilliant 19th-century British actor regarded as one of the greatest Shakespearean actors of all time. Cole-ridge, for example, said that to see Kean act was "to read Shakespeare by flashes of lightning."

But Kean was also a megalomaniac who refused to let fellow actors come within 10 feet of him on stage, an abusive drunk and a womanizer whose public sexual indiscretions caused audiences to shout insults across the footlights at him. He died in 1833, a 44-year-old ruin.

"I really didn't know much about Kean," Mr. Kingsley said recently, shortly after arriving in New York. "I didn't know the playwright, Raymond Fitts, and I had no idea he was writing a play for me. But I found it very absorbing, and the stuff of good drama. In brief, it was my immense good fortune that he sent it to me."

The 39-year-old actor, who won the Academy Award this year for his portrayal of Gandhi, went on to star in "Edmund Kean" for a total of 14 weeks at several theaters in England, including the Haymarket in London's West End. The reviews were glowing, and tomorrow night the play opens in previews at the Brooks Atkinson for a six-week run. The official opening is Sept. 27. The producer is Alexander H. Cohen, and the director is Alison Sutcliffe, who also happens to be Mrs. Ben Kingsley and the mother of their year-old son, Edmund, named after the man who has played such a large part in their lives in the last few years.

It is Mr. Kingsley's debut in a starring role on Broadway—he appeared here in 1971 as Demetrius in Peter Brook's "Midsummer Night's

Dream" for the Royal Shakespeare Company—and, despite the acclaim for "Gandhi," he is nervous. "You can go into the arena with all sorts of lions and beasts," he said, "but no beast behaves the same way as the last one did. Audiences and their reactions are totally unpredictable. Actors are adored one day and not adored the next. You're only as good as your last performance."

To prepare for the part of Kean, Mr. Kingsley said he studied portraits of him and read Mr. Fitts' biography, "Far From Heaven." "But in no way do I attempt his style of acting," he said, "simply because I don't know what it was. The only records we have of his acting are by such critics as Lord Byron and Coleridge. With Gandhi, the preparation was much easier, because there were photographs, newsreels and recordings of the man's voice."

Did he consult with a psychiatrist or other mental health expert about Kean's descent into ruin? "No, because as an actor, I have explored processes of disintegration before," he said. "In Athol Fugard's 'Hello and Goodbye,' I played a brother who disintegrates under pressure from his sister, and in Fugard's 'Statements After an Arrest Under the Immorality Act,' a man who disintegrated under the legal system." He said he also felt he knew a great deal about a man breaking down, having played such roles as Hamlet and Brecht's Baal, both for the Royal Shakespeare Company.

Asked what he thought were the major reasons for Kean's disintegration, Mr. Kingsley said: "He was a pathological liar. He lied about his childhood and his parentage, basically because he had no parents and no parental guidance. His father drank himself to death and his mother abandoned him as an infant. I always think that people who are denied a childhood deny it until they are sufficiently in control of themselves to have it. So life in itself was a gigantic playroom for him, because of this postponed childhood."

"Another reason was his loneli-



Mr. Kingsley in "Edmund Kean," which starts performances Monday at the Brooks Atkinson—"My ego is a slave to my work."

ness," Mr. Kingsley went on. "He sought solace in alcohol and prostitutes, so it was physical as well as mental—he died of alcohol poisoning, gout and sexual diseases. He also seemed to share that meteoric quality that several other famous men of his time, Byron and Shelley, also had. They led short lives and glittered in the hemisphere. They were very close to our great rock and roll singers who tragically burned themselves out, like Janis Joplin and Jimi Hendrix."

Mr. Kingsley, who is the son of a British-educated Indian doctor and an English fashion model, spoke in the very precise, well-modulated

tones of an actor who learned his craft in the Royal Shakespeare Company. At 39, he is partially bald, his sideburns are graying and his intense brown eyes make him resemble the actor Ben Gazzara. On first impression, he seems much larger than he did as Gandhi, even though he is quite slender (147 pounds) and of medium height. He is wearing a gray shirt unbuttoned at the neck, revealing a gold

"I use my voice and body to explore character, rather than my intellect. I'm sort of like a performing horse; I will run and run and run at a fence and finally leap over it." (Ben Kingsley)

chain, and navy pants, from which he frequently picks imaginary pieces of lint.

He looks pleased when told that he does not strongly resemble either of the characters most Americans associate him with, Gandhi and Robert, the betrayed husband in the recent film written by Harold Pinter, "Betrayal." And in "Edmund Kean," he will have a totally different appearance, wearing tight and a doublet. Of the chameleon-like nature of his roles, he said: "It's a reflection of the fact my ego is a slave to my work. I don't want to propagate my own myth. I'm too greedy for work to want to look the same in every part."

Are there any similarities between his own life and Kean's? "He was a very hard worker," Mr. Kingsley replied. "He would rehearse and rehearse a gesture until the early hours of the morning. He'd rehearse that gesture, that vocal pattern, that intonation, until he got it right. I'm exactly the same. I used to say that I was obsessive, but that sounds ill, and I'm not ill. I just work hard."

Mr. Kingsley seemed uncomfortable when asked about his acting techniques. "It's hard to explain," he said. "I don't subscribe to any school of acting whatsoever. I just keep my voice and my body as fit and alert as I possibly can, so I can be ready to pit my wits against astonishingly intelligent characters such as Hamlet and Gandhi. Sometimes this is brain-crackingly difficult. But not for a moment do I suggest that I'm an intellectual actor. I use my voice and body to explore character, rather than my intellect. I'm sort of like a performing horse: I will run and run and run at a fence and finally leap over it."

He said he keeps in shape with daily vocal and physical exercises, as well as swimming, long walks and dance workouts. "I've become sort of like an athlete," he said. "My body and my metabolism are slaves to my work. At 4 P.M. on the day of a performance, my metabolism slows down, and before I go on stage, it almost doubles its rate. I seem to have developed a way of saving and modulating the energies."

While waiting in the wings, he said, he doesn't try to heighten his emotional state. "Instead, I empty myself," he said. "I try to reduce myself to zero. I don't say, 'Kingsley, you're the greatest thing since sliced bread.' I don't do that. I'm only interested in sharing my character with my audience."

When he was a young repertory

player, he added, he would try to heighten his emotions, "but it didn't work. I used to stand in the wings and say, 'I'm going to win! Now I stand in the wings and say, 'I'm going to serve my character.' It demands the same amount of ego."

In "Edmund Kean," Mr. Kingsley is on stage alone for almost two hours in a performance that requires him to slip in and out of such roles as Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello and Richard III. He said he often worries before a performance that he might suffer physical discomfort, or lose his vocal power, or slip and fall. "But I forget all that while I'm doing it." A prompter is always present, he said, "because a tightrope walker just walks with more confidence with a safety net there." He also has a dresser to help him with costume changes. "But it's very lonely backstage," he said. "There are no fellow actors in the dressing room to share jokes with."

He frowned when asked whether he preferred the stage to films. "That's a bit like asking a parent of two or three children which is the favorite," he said. "I adore them individually for utterly different reasons. In the theater, I'm sharing that event with a live audience, and it will never be the same on any other night. In cinema, the moment will be recorded forever and that is astonishing. With those two loves, you have a perfect balance."

Working with his wife, Alison Sutcliffe, as director of "Edmund Kean" was "absolutely sublime," he said. "It's one of the best working relationships I've ever known. It's the first thing we've ever done together, even though we were warned off doing it by people who had worked with their spouses. We've had differences of opinion, of course, but we've debated them. We just debate and learn."

The couple live with their son in a "very old" rambling house in a village nine miles from Stratford-on-Avon, about two hours from London, where Mr. Kingsley likes to putter around the garden, shore up the house and entertain friends. He said he keeps his Oscar for "Gandhi" on the top floor.

Asked how "Gandhi" had changed his life in addition to the resulting barrage of scripts and a constantly ringing telephone, he said: "I profoundly believe I'm an actor now. I'm not saying I believe I'm a good actor. I just believe there is nothing else in the world I should be than an actor. I can now see the tip of the iceberg, I know it's there and it's real."

## Would Chekhov Embrace This Version of 'Vanya'?

By BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

**A** key—some would say the key—moment of modern drama comes at the end of "Waiting for Godot." Estragon, the more disconsolate of Samuel Beckett's two tramps, removes his string belt in order to hang himself; and his pants promptly fall down to his knees or, if the costume department has its measurements right, his ankles. Was there ever a more telling metaphor for poor bumbling man's not-infrequent feelings of helplessness, futility and sheer silliness in a world stripped of faith?

Well, yes, perhaps there was. Chekhov provided it in "Uncle Vanya" 56 years earlier. There's a gunshot off-stage, and in dashes a distraught professor, his accustomed gravity quite gone. Then on comes his brother-in-law, Vanya himself, in an ecstasy of envy, anger and murderous intent. He shakily takes aim, fires and then flings his revolver to the ground with a wall of "missed again": words which, if the actor knows his job, embrace both despair itself and a rueful recognition of the clownishness of that despair. You won't find a funnier yet more painful image of impotence in Beckett himself. You might even say that this is the point at which tragedy-comedy, that most 20th century of forms, makes its definitive reappearance after two and a half centuries in the theatrical closet.

It is, of course, quite an accomplishment if a performance makes us feel the hilarity and the agony simultaneously. It is also an accomplishment of sorts to leave us feeling neither. But if the "Vanya" presently on show at La Mama falls into the second category, it does so in a way by no means without interest. For instance, it tells us something about the director, Andrei Serban. It may even tell us something about Chekhov and his staging.

Mr. Serban's special quality is a magnificentchutzpah. It certainly takes that to launch your career by presenting "Julius Caesar" as a Kabuki play in Rumania, especially if you're a native of that country; and it takes both that and a spectacular imagination to do what I, and no doubt many others, remember him doing to Greek tragedy back in the mid-70's. Up there Helen was ritually smeared with filth, over there a bare-breasted Cassandra was dancing with torches, down there the Trojan women were led in chains to the slave-ships, and all around there was keening, hissing, growling, cackling, weird guttural hiccupping and other noises even nearer the primal scream. It sometimes seemed the work less of Euripides than of a collaboration between C. K. Jung and the field committee of some sensationalist anthropological institution; but it undeniably had impact.

And so (famously, notoriously, or both) did the production Mr. Serban concocted when he (boldly, perversely, or both) turned his attention to Chekhov. Even those who resisted his "Cherry Orchard" in 1977—and many were quite won over—were struck by the imaginative generosity he brought to the play. The consensus was that it was large, funny, packed with eloquent imagery; if not always faithful to the author, at least a corrective to the droopy tradition which once led D. H. Lawrence to dismiss Chekhov as "Willy Wetleg."

Yet with "Vanya" Mr. Serban would appear to have lost that quality he possessed so superabundantly: his nerve. He has sought to be more realistic, tried to be a bit spectacular, too, and ended up not quite anything, least

of all Chekhovian. It's a production designed to frustrate those with a taste for whole hogs, since everywhere Mr. Serban seems to be going just half a one.

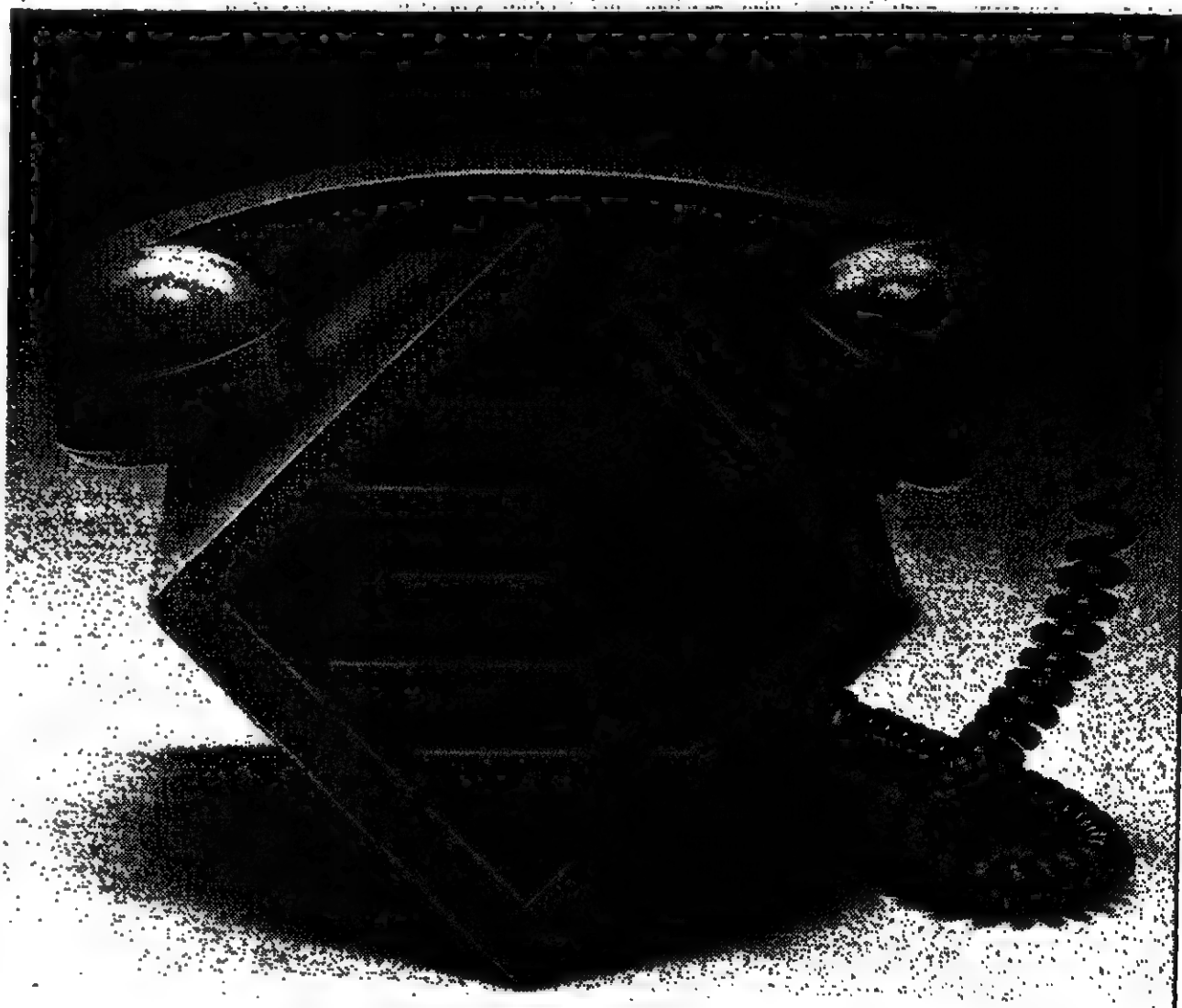
The very stage dramatizes the problem. It is a gorgeous folly, built (so it seems) by some megalomaniac carpenter with a taste for walkways leading to stairways and stairways leading to cute little cul-de-sacs with room for nothing but an armchair; and it is very, very large. Mr. Serban has publicly intimated that it needs to be this way, because Vanya and his family live in a vast, maze-like mansion: arithmetical logic which, if generally accepted, could lead to odd results. "Henry V," which crosses from England to France, would have to be performed in a football stadium or on a race track. And what auditorium would be big enough for "Around the World in 80 Days"?

The point, however, is that an elephantine acting area is especially unsuitable for "Vanya," which is largely about emotional claustrophobia—people getting on each other's nerves. Moreover, it means that some quite intimate exchanges occur at distances between which the speakers would do better to communicate by semaphore or even carrier-pigeon. Under such extrovert circumstances, what hope for the poor Chekhovian introvert? What chance of that depth and discrimination of feeling, that intricacy of contact, at which any director must aim if, like Mr. Serban, he claims to be presenting Chekhov realistically?

There are times when the stage justifies itself—Frances Conroy's marvellously astringent Sonia suddenly, uncharacteristically, running two laps, then plummeting to her knees in stark pain—but on the whole it encourages a superficiality that edges, at worst, into desultory showiness. Take the celebrated scene I mentioned at the start. The omens for strong, multi-colored feeling at this point were never good, because Joseph Chaikin had elected to play Vanya as a man almost past feeling: trudging, defeated, rumpled to the point of looking sleazy, with a doleful clown face that seemed three-quarters of the way to becoming a death mask. It's said that Mr. Serban invited Irene Worth and C. K. Alexander to think of themselves as (respectively) a swan and a maroon glacié when they played in his "Cherry Orchard." Mr. Chaikin's chosen model was clearly an old bolster with a little stuffing protruding from the top.

And what happens when this sad sack is smugly informed by his loathed brother-in-law that he proposes to sell the estate which he, Vanya, has squandered his best years tending? Does his resentment at being taken for granted, exploited and abused, momentarily bring him back to the life he appears to have lost? That would seem Mr. Chaikin's best hope of making the scene with the gun consistent with his interpretation. But no. He walks over to the professor and actually perches on his knee, coddling him, smiling, and asking soft questions; and only after several lines does he mouch off to what, unsurprisingly, is a less than feverish murder attempt.

Let me ask a simple question. Is that the way you would behave at the most confused and confusing, the most gruesome and upsetting, moments of your entire existence? Or is it the way people are thought to behave by directors bent on creating original theatrical effects. The latter, I surmise. The professor's outraged riposte in the play, "Make him move to the village," seemed redundant. Mr. Chaikin was still doing acting exercises in some rehearsal room on Lafayette Street.



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הכנסת הכלכלית



YOSSI MALUL, the founder and moving force behind the Tami branch in Tiberias and a brother-in-law of its head, MK Aharon Abuhatzira, confidently predicts that the movement will receive around 3,000 votes in next month's municipal elections, out of 18,000 registered voters in the city.

This optimistic assessment puts Tami's current potential far above the 870 votes it received in Tiberias in the last national elections. It was then a brand new force — a political infant of two weeks, in fact, following the crisis within the NRP which gave birth to Abuhatzira's party in those distant days, and at that time Tami even managed to come in second to the Likud, the spot traditionally held by the NRP, in Tiberias' Shikun Dalet quarter, considered the town's most problematical neighbourhood. Dalet's residents are almost entirely from the Oriental community and account for about half of Tiberias' 47,000 population.

I spoke to Malul to learn how Abuhatzira's party looks at the grass-roots level. But it should be remembered that political phenomena develop differently in different towns, and it all depends on who is in charge of what where.

In Safed, for instance, according to Malul, Tami is active, while Hatzor is considered a Likud stronghold. In Kiryat Shmona, the political cauldron has been boiling for some time and the local newspaper is awash with advertisements for candidates in the local elections.

Tiberias, by contrast, appears tranquil politically, and the ad-jamming the local newspapers are for video sets and gala evenings. Behind the scenes, however, conversations are in high gear and some of the main parties have split into factions.

The Tami man in Kiryat Shmona, incidentally, is named Sammy Malul. "But I don't think he's any relation," Tiberias' Malul told me. "We met for the first time in Tel Aviv."

BUT THE FAMILY connection is a powerful factor in Yossi Malul's Tami involvement. One of his three sisters married a brother of Abuhatzira four years ago, and the contact goes back further, for the fathers of the two families were close friends back in Morocco.

"They studied at the same yeshivot, and we children practically grew up together," Malul told me. It was quite a flock of children: Abuhatzira is one of 13, and Malul one of 11.

Malul, 31, and the father of four children, is an extremely presentable, well-educated, immaculately dressed, highly motivated young man with a low-key style that still conveys conviction and enthusiasm. He bears a certain facial resemblance to his famous brother-in-law, for whom his admiration is boundless.

On occasion, he has appeared more stylishly turned out than the former minister: in a photograph of the two of them, Abuhatzira wears an open-necked shirt, Malul is complete with tie and vest.

## Grass-roots Tami

By HELGA DUDMAN/Jerusalem Post Reporter



Yossi Malul... 'I could show you plenty of families with terrible problems.'

His briefcase folder is a model of neatness and organization, with everything clipped perfectly in place: would that we could all say as much.

MALUL DESCRIBES Tami as a party with a clear religious and traditional orientation, "no less religious than the NRP or the Aguda." Before the breakaway, he was an NRP man, as, of course, Abuhatzira himself was. But he insists that it is not to be seen as an ethnic unity, and repeatedly blames the media for giving Tami its North African image. "Don't always believe everything the media tells you," he told me earnestly, as though this were necessary.

His Tiberias branch has a central

committee of 15 members, "and four of them are Ashkenazi." They include the manager of a Jordan Valley factory, a school principal, and two teachers.

Among the hundred or so active members of Tami in Tiberias, there are also several who do not come from the Oriental communities, says Malul, and also a few who are not religious, including a number of new immigrants from Russia. "These tend to be people with no religious background, who are looking for some tradition, some values. We talk to them, we help them."

WHY SHOULD an Ashkenazi teacher be attracted to Tami? According to Yossi, because of the

emphasis placed by the party on education, on improving the schools in Tiberias, and providing more community centres and other facilities for children. And, of course, as made clear by the party's coalition bargaining position at the national level, fighting against budget cuts in benefits to large families.

But the story of the Malul family itself cannot help but be seen as something of a resounding rebuttal to Tami's *raison d'être*, and hardly supports the required image of the old Labour government's devitalization of the North African immigrants of 25 years ago.

Here is the lineup on some of the Malul siblings in a roster of achievement that not many Ashkenazi families can point to: his eldest brother is the administrative secretary of a yeshiva; the next two brothers are officers in the regular army; another is an executive at a Tiberias bank, and another, who had been an accountant at the diamond exchange in Ramat Gan, is now an executive at another Tiberias bank. "We didn't want him so far away. We wanted him here in Tiberias," says Yossi.

He himself started working eight years ago at the Tiberias branch of Amidar, the public corporation set up decades ago to provide housing for new immigrants. Today, he is responsible for Amidar's activities in Golan settlements (where there are few new immigrants in the strict sense of the word), Migdal, and elsewhere in the area.

Yossi's family immigrated from Morocco when he was seven, and came straight to Tiberias, an already large family settled into a 50 sq.m. flat. "Our *aliya* was wonderful, because we were coming to our own country. But our *kliya* was very, very difficult."

Nobody will deny that conditions then for new immigrants, especially in development towns, were harsh and depressing. Yet the Malul family is certainly not the only one that managed to climb up from the slums with striking success. The key is education, he emphasizes, "and there are many families in Shikun Dalet today with ten members, and sons at universities."

IN HIS OWN family, it was a matter of strict discipline. "If we didn't study, we would be slapped. We were frightened of our parents, but we knew they did this for our own good." In other words, the children were brought up to behave and to study, and the authority of the father, today a neighbourhood rabbi and scriptural scribe, was not broken by the move to Israel, Malul can point to many Oriental families with similar backgrounds who have made similar progress, who contradict the Tami stereotype of deprivation and failure, stemming, as this theory goes, from decades of Ashkenazi (i.e., Labour) deprivation and exploitation.

He adds quickly: "But I could show you plenty of families with terrible problems." I suggest that, as

the western world has known for some years now, it may be harder to raise children in an atmosphere of affluence than scarcity. He replies: "Things have changed."

He admits that problem families suffer less from a lack of money than from personal difficulties, but most especially from a lack of suitable values and failure to recognize the importance of education.

Still, "those who manage to give their children higher education may have a hard time 'finishing the month'. And they are not likely to buy video sets." (He himself does not have video, he puts in with a smile.) "And their housing is certainly crowded."

The Malul family now have their own flat in a good residential section of Tiberias, "but we're very crowded."

It is, by the way, not productive to ask about the role of women in Tami circles: they have their tasks in the home, "except during elections."

AT THE TIME of our talk, Malul and his Tami group were busy with a long round of talks with Tiberias mayor Yigal Bibi (NRP) and other local lists in a merry-go-round of horse-trading, just like the big boys at the national level. "Yigal offered us Number Four on his list if we 'disappeared' as a party, which, of course, we refused. We want Number Two, plus an deputy mayorship, plus three top jobs. We haven't yet been approached by the Likud."

His own political activity, Malul told me, made trouble at his job, "because Amidar is an Alignment stronghold." He therefore resigned from Tami after the first six months, when in any case his brother-in-law was "busy with the trial." Not long ago, Abuhatzira asked Malul to renew his political work. "I agreed, and explained at the office that this was basically a family affair."

Asked about Tami's line at the national level, Malul replied: "We are against giving back any areas. That is not good for Israel."

When I asked whether any feeling had developed within Tami that the financial investment in developing Judea and Samaria might be at the budgetary expense of education and community services in underprivileged areas, he said simply: "We are in favour of doing both."

He has the knack of avoiding hard questions elegantly and cheerfully. When I told him so, he laughed.

Asked about David Levy's failure in the Herut selection, Malul stayed consistently within his non-ethnic position: "I would not have voted for David. I have great admiration for him as a man who has risen through his own abilities. But he's not ready to be prime minister."

Malul has no illusions about political contests: they are rarely clean, and values such as the truth, stressed in his religious heritage, have little place. "My father asked me not to go into politics," he says.



Menahem Alexenberg among the 'tsitsi' in Yeroham.

## DRAMATIC STATEMENT

By CHAIM CHERTOK/Special to The Jerusalem Post

AT THE SCHOOL of Art of Yeroham's Ramat Hanegav College, they believe in making their visual statements dramatic. In Numbers, Moses is directed to "Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make throughout their generations fringes in the corners of their garments..."

that ye may look unto it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them" (XV, 38-39). Moshe is still at it: the upshot of Dr. Moshe Dror's seminar on Art and Judaism is 180 knotted, dancing metres of ritual fringe hanging from the upper corner of the only building in the world — including Mea Shearim — known to sport a *tsitsit*.

The conceptual art idea originated with Ramat Hanegav President Menahem Alexenberg and was quickly taken up by the students. Dror explains: "We're aiming to sensitize the consciousness of the Jewish artist with an eye to deriving art appropriate to our age from the deeper levels of his or her Jewish identity. Well, what's good for square garments should be just as good for square buildings. Wasn't it Thoreau who pointed out that a building — like clothing or the body itself — is simply a larger, energy-conserving garment? Why not bedeck it Jewishly?"

WHY NOT, indeed? The result extends like a knotted waterfall at the entrance to the main building at Ramat Hanegav College. A large hole was made in the corner of the edifice from which hangs a lengthy strand of heavy-duty, natural fibre rope — exactly the sort used on ships and construction projects — in a flowing pattern to the ground where it spirals in a number of concentric pools. It took students Haim Asayag, Ya'acov Cohen, Shlomo Malka, and Yehuda Alfasi more than three days to mount and knot the *tsitsit*. They initially attempted to employ the more elaborate Sephardi-style of knotting for the 150-kilo strand, but the heavy rope proved recalcitrant. Reluctantly, they settled for the more pliable Ashkenazi style.

"We've petitioned the Guinness records people for recognition," Dror added with a smile. "So far, no reply."

It remains to be seen whether a daily encounter with the world's longest *tsitsit* truly aids in the remembering and performance of the *mitzvot*, but no one who sees it would deny its stark power and taut visual effectiveness.

## Mechanical record

LAW REPORT/Asher Felix Landau

In the Supreme Court sitting as a Court of Civil Appeals. Before the President, Justice Yitzhak Kahan, Justice Moshe Bleski, and Justice Shoshana Netanyahu. In the matter between Café Naava, appellant and the Income Tax Assessing Officer, Jerusalem, respondent (C.A. 25/81).

ACCORDING TO paragraph 7(a) of instructions issued by the Income Tax Commissioner under section 130 of the Ordinance, the owner of certain types of business, including a café, is obliged to record each sum of money received in a mechanical cash register. In terms of section 145B(a) (1) of the Ordinance, the books of a business in which these instructions are disregarded are not recognized as proof of the income of the business, unless the Commissioner has exempted the owner from complying with them, or there was some reasonable ground for non-compliance.

On September 5, 1979, it was reported by examiners, who visited the appellant's business twice on that day, that five sums of money which had been received had not been recorded in the cash register, and the respondent then informed the appellant that its books would not be admitted as proof of its income for that tax year.

The appellant appealed to the District Court, which allowed the appeal in respect of three sums, but held that two amounts, of 50 lirot and 59 lirot, had not been registered, and that no good reason had been shown for the non-registration. The appeal was therefore dismissed, and the appellant appealed to the Supreme Court.

THE JUDGMENT of the Supreme Court was given by Justice Yitzhak Kahan, who dealt first with the recording of the receipt of the 50 lirot. Each waitress had a book of numbered duplicate slips in which she wrote the orders she received and the price, then handing the original to the person in charge at the desk. At the end of the day the

waitress summed up the total amount received, calculated her own remuneration after deducting VAT, and then handed the balance, including the tax, to the person in charge. The final amount received was then entered in the record of weekly receipts, and copied from there into the record of cash takings.

The appellant had a cash register, and the District Court had held that the appellant was obliged to ring up the amount received on the till, notwithstanding any other record of the takings which it maintained.

Counsel for the appellant had argued, the President said, that the system it followed had been accepted by the tax authorities. This argument, however, had not been raised at all in the District Court,

and it had not even been suggested that the appellant had ever applied to the Commissioner to be exempted from observing the instructions referred to.

It had also been argued that the only question for the court to decide was whether the receipt of the money had been recorded or not — and, if not, whether there was a sound reason for the omission. This was not correct, for the law was clear that unless the receipt of the money had been recorded in accordance with the instructions, the books were not receivable as proof of income.

It had also been held by the Supreme Court that the fact that the taxpayer had no intention of concealing the receipt of the money was irrelevant. Since the income tax reforms of 1975, the taxpayer's books, if properly kept as the law requires, are regarded as a true reflection of his income, and it is of the utmost importance, therefore, that they be kept strictly as laid down by law. It is no longer open to the taxpayer to show that his system of bookkeeping is a good one. The decision of the District Court, therefore, was correct.

IT HAD BEEN argued, Justice Kahan continued, that the sum of 59

lirot, which had been paid by cheque, had not gone through the till because at the time of its receipt the tape had been removed by the examiners. This argument was untenable, for although the evidence did point to this possibility, the District Court had correctly held that a possibility was not enough. For the onus was on the appellant to prove a sound reason for the non-registration in the cash register. Moreover, as that court had pointed out, the 59 lirot could have been registered in the cash register after the tape had been returned by the examiners. Counsel had argued that the fact that the cheque was there proved that there was no intention to conceal it. As already pointed out, however, this was irrelevant, and in any case it was possible that the person in charge had not anticipated that the examiners would conduct a second investigation on the same day.

For the above reasons, the appeal was dismissed, and the appellant was ordered to pay the respondent's costs in the sum of IS35,000.

Advocate Zevulun Handler appeared for the appellant, and Advocate Eli Ben-Tovim, senior assistant state attorney, for the respondent.

Judgment was given on September 5, 1983.

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## Shares up for third session in a row

TEL AVIV. — Prices continued to rise sharply yesterday on the stock market, for the third consecutive day of trading.

However, the turnover was a low 154.1 million, a clear indication that most of the buying was being done by the various financial institutions, although here and there there were signs of only small ones, that the general public, many of whom had been badly hurt by the market in the past months, were showing a renewed interest.

Many financial advisers have pointed out that there are a "few very attractive buys on the market today, after a long period of generally falling prices."

But one large bank noted in its survey of the market that no trend was expected to develop as long as both the political and economic condition remained uncertain.

At any rate, those persons who moved into the stock market just a week ago, when prices were plummeting, have already made a tidy profit. If the last three trading days are taken into consideration.

Yesterday, 115 shares rose by five per cent or more, and 15 were quoted as "buyers only." Only seven shares fell by five per cent or more, and only one was "sellers only."

But, if the general trend was upwards yesterday, it was still not a boisterous day, and although all eight stocks listed as "wild swingers" rose, only four of them passed the ten per cent mark. They were: Lighterage A, up 10.1 per cent to 241; Aradon A, up 10 per cent to 241; Aradon S, up 10.2 per cent to 108; and Pama 0.1, up 10.1 per cent to 598.

In six of the eight trading categories: commercial banks, mortgage banks, services and utilities, insurance companies, land development and industries, the trend was generally upwards. In the

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By MACABEE DEAN

remaining two, financing institutions and investment companies, prices were mixed.

All index-linked bonds were firm. Bonds traded in foreign currency fluctuated by one per cent, while those linked to foreign currency rose by up to one per cent.

Leumi was not traded due to the publication of its semi-annual financial statements. (Story on page 6)

Zim finished the first six months of 1983 with a loss of IS15.5m., but if this is adjusted for inflation, the loss grows to IS120m. The turnover of the national carrier fell by nine per cent in these six months to \$336m.

MGV (petroleum exploration) announced that it will contribute ten per cent of the total sum of \$10m, needed to drill to a depth of 6,200 metre at Pleshet. The biggest share of the venture is held by the National Oil company (41.2 per cent).

Atlantic Fishing has had a IS21.9m. loss in the 15 month period ending March 31, 1983.

Cla Electronics reports a profit of

IS428.5m. in the six month period ending June 30, 1983, compared to IS66.4m. in the same period last year.

This is a nominal growth of 178 per cent, but if the sum is adjusted for inflation, the profits grow by 13 times, to IS236.4m. at the end of June, 1983, as compared to only IS17.9m. at the end of the comparative period last year.

Zion Cables has announced a 100 per cent bonus dividend and a 16 per cent cash dividend. The former will go "ex" on October 4 and the shares will be allocated on October 6, and the latter will go "ex" on October 3 and the dividend will be paid on October 30.

Central Trade's net profits rose by 39 per cent in real terms in the first half of the current year to stand at IS830.5m.

Sar Insurance reports a net profit of IS17.4m. in the first six months of 1983, which is a 200 per cent growth in nominal profits. After adjustment for inflation the profit turns into a IS20.3m. loss.

Cla Industries had a profit of IS1,581.8m. in the first half of the current year, a nominal growth of 347 per cent. However, if this figure is adjusted for inflation, the profit shrinks to IS354m., which is a 25 per cent real growth over the profits (adjusted) of the same period last year.

## Dead Sea Works signs potash deal with U.S.

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
HAIFA. — The Dead Sea Works has signed a ten year contract to export 100,000 to 300,000 tons of potash annually to Mississippi, which will almost double its exports to the U.S.

PRIZE. — A prize-giving ceremony for the outstanding civil servant of the year is to be held tomorrow at the Knesset at 11 a.m.

The Shipping Research Institute Bulletin reported yesterday that the potash is to be shipped to Pascagoula, the Gulf port of Mississippi, as the importers, the Mississippi Chemical Company, found it cheaper to bring the potash by sea from Israel than overland from Canada.

The Dead Sea Works presently exports some 400,000 tons of potash annually to east coast ports in the U.S.

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Bank Leumi	3205	+8	+0.25
Bank Hapoalim	3213	+5	+0.16
Bank Discount	1517	+128	+8.44
Bank Arzi	5417	+586	+10.64
Bank Leumi	4280	+22	+0.52
Bank Hapoalim	600	+19	+3.17
Bank Discount	1787	+999	+55.90
Bank Arzi	1787	+31	+1.74
Bank Leumi	3197	+57	+1.79
Bank Hapoalim	1225	+106	+8.65
Bank Discount	1380	+200	+14.50
Bank Arzi	619	+83	+13.41
Bank Leumi	510	+239	+46.86
Bank Hapoalim	290	+734	+253.83
Bank Discount	4300	+100	+2.33
Bank Arzi	2892	+109	+3.77
Bank Leumi	2892	+46	+1.59
Bank Hapoalim	24700	+2309	+9.35
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Haploim sc 8	11000	±	+100	+9	Azaron P	300	269	+	+
General A	7450	49	+40	+5	Azaron P 3	393	3	+22	+
General op 8	38550	—	+550	+1.5	Azaron op E	125	54	+1	+
General op B	14110	6	+20	+1	Eylon	74	373	+4	+6.3
General sc 5	4920	8	+50	+1.0	Ammonim op	175	75	+5	+2.8
General 7	297	162	+1	+1.3	Ammonim op	40	40	—	—
Leumi	no trading				Africa br. 0.1	9359	2	—	—
Leumi op 13	no trading				Africa br. 1.0	8399	5	—	—
Leumi sc 11	no trading				Africa br. 2	6315	1	n.c.	—
Leumi sc 11	no trading				Arazim	173	b.o.l.	+8	+4.6
OHM R	no trading				Arazim op	96	30	—	—
Finance Trade	2510	19	+10	+4	Azedan 0.1	321	49	+10	+3.2
Finance Trade : 13	130	19	+10	+4	Azedan 0.5	165	203	+15	+10.4
Finance Trade : 13	3050	2	+5	+8	Ben Yakar 1	460	12	+20	+4.4
N. American 1	2484	236	+40	+1.6	Ben Yakar op	107	432	+46	+16.6
N. American 5	1052	1224	+13	+9	Baranovitz 1	107	432	—	—
Dana 1.0	725	23	+10	+1.4	Baranovitz 5	71	185	+2	+3.1
Dana 5.0	528	2	+138	+2.6	Baranovitz op	57	78	+6	+12.1
Dana 5.0	715	0	+35	+7.3	Dankner 1	1180	2	+1	+0.1
Dana 5.0	520	1367	n.c.	—	Drucker 5	280	23	+10	+3.6
FIBI	502	2052	19	+3.8	Drucker 5	177	389	+15	+9.2
					Drucker 5	74	78	+6	+9.2



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## Herzog's choice

THE PROCESS of consultation with the leaders of the Knesset factions about the choice of a candidate for a new premier has, over the years, become a regular part of the presidential ritual, even where there is little doubt about the final outcome. The talks are conducted with all deliberate speed — for no time must be lost in bringing about the formation of a new cabinet.

President Chaim Herzog started his discussions yesterday with delegations from the two biggest factions, first the Alignment and then the Likud's. He is due to announce his decision tomorrow, or at any rate before the onset of the festival of Succot, Wednesday evening.

Coming out of the meeting with Mr. Herzog, Haim Bar-Lev, a member of the Alignment group, voiced "cautious optimism" about the chances of the Labour Party's chairman, Shimon Peres, receiving the president's nod. The time, he said, was opportune to set up a government that would relieve the country of its many present afflictions. Mr. Bar-Lev appeared to suggest that this high-minded but political reason was enough for Mr. Herzog to prefer Mr. Peres over the Likud's candidate, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

It is in fact more reasonable to assume that, in making up his mind, the president, a former Labourite himself, would bend over backwards to avoid the suspicion that he was in any way swayed by partisan considerations. A more pertinent Alignment argument surely, would have been that, by convention, the president has always given the first opportunity for establishing a government to the candidate for premier of the biggest parliamentary faction.

Today that is the Alignment faction, which numbers 30 Knesset Members to the Likud's 46.

But the convention has its limitations. In announcing his plans after receiving Premier Menachem Begin's letter of resignation last Thursday, Mr. Herzog indicated that he would follow the convention that the biggest faction is invited first for consultations. But when it came to forming a new government, the invitation would go to the candidate who enjoyed the support of a majority of the Knesset, and who thus had the best chance of forging a viable coalition.

On the face of it, this meant that Yitzhak Shamir, who had from the start been assured of the backing of 64 MKs, was the likeliest candidate, even though he did not lead the biggest faction.

This measure of parliamentary support has been secured not by solving in advance the problems inherent in the formation of a new Likud-led government, but by sweeping them for the while under the rug. Mr. Shamir's cabinet will essentially, as the expression goes, be a "copy" of Mr. Begin's administration, with the only difference that the foreign minister will also hold the premiership.

To be sure, within weeks the strains and stresses that have bedevilled the present cabinet will probably surface again, and with renewed vigour. Mr. Shamir, after all, is not Mr. Begin. Rifts over policy will open up again, and the jockeying for positions will be intensified. There will be no escaping a reformation of the cabinet — or, alternatively, the calling of a new election. But the Likud and its allies, having maintained their grip on power, will then presumably be able to capitalize on that fact in their appeal to the voters.

If Mr. Shamir is bidden by Mr. Herzog to head the next government, his may therefore, in practical terms, be itself a caretaker government.

## LUBRANI, LEVY

(Continued from Page One)

The deputy premier added that as soon as Herzog called on Shamir to form a government, the foreign minister would make an offer to the Alignment to join a national unity government that he would head. "Portfolios will be made available to them," said Levy.

Asked about Alignment claims that the "list of 64" is "misleading," Levy maintained: "The Likud knows how to respect the word of party leaders who sign a document. The Alignment is thus accusing these party leaders of trickery."

Levy said the four Liberal independents would not rebel, since Shamir has promised to offer Labour a place in a national unity government if it agrees to "acceptable principles."

## ALIGNMENT, LIKUD

(Continued from Page One)

increase of Syrian influence would be among the results of our redeployment."

Lubrani, in his address yesterday, maintained the final word had not been said in Lebanon. The terrorists had taken advantage of the fighting and with Syrian knowledge, support and planning, there had been a division of fronts between the Palestinians and the Druze, he said. "There were terrorists (fighting on the Druze side) and there (still) are terrorists," he stressed, contradicting Druze denials.

However, Lubrani noted that in the past four months Israel had talked to everybody in the Shouf willing to talk to build up some goodwill. By now all parties are courting it and "if we have a measure of success... the terrorists

The Alignment's discussion with Herzog lasted for 90 minutes. Shahal later told reporters that Peres could "without doubt" form a government if he was asked first by Herzog to attempt to do so. More MKs — over 70 — were closer in their views to the Alignment than the Likud, Shahal maintained.

He added that the Alignment would be willing to join a national unity government only if it was headed by Peres and based on "acceptable principles."

Commenting on the dilemma faced by Herzog, who was a Labour MK when elected to the presidency, Alignment UK Uzi Baram said: "I don't envy him."

Herzog is expected to announce his decision by Wednesday morning.

will be evicted."

Replying to questions, Lubrani said he did not believe the Druze and terrorists could occupy Beirut unless there is direct Syrian involvement.

The Lebanese Army turned out to be more resolute than had been considered and there are signs that the Beirut government is toughening its resistance, he said.

Moreover, the Americans will not let Beirut fall, although this does not mean the U.S. Marines will have to fight, Lubrani predicted. "It's enough they (the Marines) sit where they are sitting," he said. If they keep up their massive military aid to the Lebanese troops they won't have to fight. The U.S. "evaluates the situation this way and I think that on the whole they are right," he added.

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# THE LESSONS OF HAMA

By WOLF BLITZER

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has finally come out with its long-awaited study on the Syrian government's massacre at the ancient city of Hama in February 1982. "When law and order was restored," it concluded, "estimates of the dead on all sides ranged from 10,000 to 20,000."

The State Department, in its latest human rights report on Syria released earlier this year, did not publish a specific figure. It simply said: "Evidence on the number of people killed is scanty because the government restricted access to the city for some time, and has attempted to stifle information on events there. Nevertheless, there have been press accounts that several thousand persons were killed."

The Washington Post reported a few weeks after the massacre that as many as 20,000 orphans may have been created during the ordeal.

On December 9, David Hirst, the veteran Middle East correspondent of Britain's *The Guardian* quoted Moslem Brotherhood sources as saying that as many as 30,000 people may have been killed. The Syrian governor of the area insisted that only 1,200 were killed on both sides.

"The physical devastation is the only reliable measure of the scale of a calamity whose other aspects, such as the number who died, are widely contentious," wrote Hirst.

AT THE TIME of the massacre, of course, the Syrian regime of President Hafez Assad had hermetically sealed off the entire city to the outside world, as heavy artillery and aerial bombing pounded away at positions held by his bitter opponents, the Moslem Brotherhood. That fundamentalist group had organized disturbances against his rule.

The Syrian president, a member of the minority Alawite sect, apparently decided to teach his opponents a lesson.

According to the Amnesty Inter-

national study, "some 6,000 to 8,000 soldiers, including units from the 21st mechanized brigade of the 3rd Armoured Division, the 47th Independent Armoured Brigade, the *Saray al-Difa* and *al-Wahdat al-Khassa*, were reportedly dispatched to the city."

The study says that "old parts of the city were bombed from the air and shelled in order to facilitate the entry of troops and tanks along the narrow roads. The ancient quarter of Hama was apparently bombed and razed to the ground by tanks during the first four days of fighting."

On February 15, the Syrian defence minister, Mayor-General Mustapha Tias, announced that the uprising had been suppressed.

"However," Amnesty International continues, "the city remained surrounded and cut off. Two weeks of house-to-house searches and mass arrests followed and there were conflicting reports of atrocities and collective killings of unarmed innocent inhabitants by the security forces."

"It is difficult to know for certain what happened, but Amnesty International has heard that there was, among other things, a collective execution of 70 people outside the municipal hospital on February 19; that Hama quarter residents were executed by (Syrian) troops that same day; that cyanide gas containers were alleged to have been brought into the city, connected to rubber pipes to the entrances of buildings believed to house insurgents and turned on, killing all the buildings' inhabitants; that people were assembled at the military airfield, at the sports stadium and at the military barracks and left out in the open for days without food or shelter."

AS SOON AS word reached Washington that some disturbances had erupted against the Assad regime, the U.S. government's super-secret National Security Agency (NSA), which is charged with gathering technological intelligence, ordered high-flying American reconnaissance aircraft and satellites to take pictures of the Hama area.

This is standard operating procedure for the NSA. Whenever trouble looms anywhere in the world, the first thing it does is send the planes and the satellites to take pictures from way up in the sky. The state of photo technology is awesome. Trained specialists reading the pictures can make out unbelievable details of what is happening on the ground.

The planes and the satellites flew over Hama after the massacre as well. Additional pictures were taken. Thus, the U.S. government now has two sets of pictures — before and after. One well-placed U.S. intelligence official who actually saw those pictures told me that they are devastating.

The "before" picture, he said, showed an ancient Arab town, complete with small streets and alleys and a large marketplace. The most distinctive feature of Hama, however, was its large number of mosques, each with its own protruding minaret from which the *muazzin* would call the faithful to prayers five times every day. The "after" picture, however, clearly showed that virtually all of them had been levelled during the massacre. The reason was clear: the Moslem Brotherhood had based themselves in the mosques. By destroying them, the Syrian government presumably thought it could deal a complete blow to the Moslem Brotherhood.

David Hirst, in his dispatch from Hama, reported that the standard tourist guide of the old town

described the Great Mosque as the city's chief glory, spanning at least three civilizations, the mosque having grown out of a Byzantine church, which in turn had replaced a Roman temple. But the Great Mosque, like nearly every other one in the city, was destroyed by the Syrian army. "The only edifice that seemed to have been deliberately spared in two acres of demolition is one that has no historic interest at all — a concrete lavatory," he said.

BY ANY STANDARD, of course, the Hama massacre dwarfed the Sabra and Shatilla tragedies, which followed seven months later. Lebanese Christians, members of the Phalange, had gone into those Palestinian camps and committed their own wholesale slaughter. During the seven earlier years of civil war in Lebanon, there were numerous other massacres — committed by Christians, Palestinians, Syrians, Druze and Moslems, both Shi'ite and Sunni. Some 100,000 people were killed in Lebanon before last year's Israeli invasion, Lebanese President Amin Jemayel told the UN General Assembly earlier this year.

Israeli officials have carefully monitored all the massacres in the Middle East. Along the Iraqi-Iranian border these past three years, they have noted, as many as 300,000 people may already have been killed, with whole towns and villages burned down. What has aroused Israel, they say, is the blatant double standard in the international news media which these events have underlined.

In many parts of the world, people are still ignorant of the Hama massacre. There was virtually no coverage of it on the American television networks, for the simple reason that the Syrian government did not permit any camera crews

into the area. It is very hard to make the nightly news programmes in the U.S. without some good, vivid footage to back up a story.

Did the Arab League or the Islamic bloc protest against the destruction of all those mosques, let alone all those people? The mosques contained some of the most holy artifacts of Islam, yet that did not prevent the Assad regime from levelling them. Was there even a perfunctory meeting of the UN Security Council? The answers, of course, are no.

DEFENCE MINISTER Moshe Arens and other influential Israeli leaders have clearly been influenced by what happened in Hama. In their dealings with Assad, they have come to recognize that this man can be ruthless — even to his own people. All the people killed at Hama were Syrian citizens. They were Moslems and Arabs. Yet that did not prevent Assad from giving his army the order to level the city.

"Israel," Arens once told me, "is not located in the Middle West of the United States. It is in the Middle East, where people do not always fight wars according to the latest Geneva Conventions."

The lesson Arens has learned is quite simple: if the Syrians are capable of committing such crimes against their own people, who knows what they would do against Israelis or Jews if ever given the chance. It is that disturbing thought which has lately come to dominate much of the Israeli leadership's thinking. It is, in short, what motivates Israeli defence strategy in the 1980s. It should help the world to understand what makes Israel tick today and why, very often, an Israeli government might seem overly stubborn about making security concessions.

The writer is the Washington correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

## READERS' LETTERS

### COPING WITH ALIYA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I must disagree with Benjamin Gerber (September 11) who thinks that "immediate dramatic changes in the aliyah process" would occasion an impressive increase in aliyah. The changes he requires would only bring about some kind of vastly preferential treatment of olim — a phenomenon which would merely lead to their further disappointment and frustration. The oleh does not need kind words and soft shoulders to cry on; the only thing he needs is an understanding of the new environment of which he wishes to become a part.

Firstly, he must realize that he is leaving a Western society and joining an Oriental one. Secondly, he must remember that in America, England or any other Western society, immigrants have just as

hard a time as he is having here. Thirdly, he must try to understand the resentment felt by officials with whom he comes into contact. Does Mr. Gerber know how an Israeli young couple feel when, forced to live with parents-in-law in order to save money for hard-to-come-by bank loans, they see an American young couple receive either an easy repayment mortgage or heavily subsidised rented accommodation? Isn't it natural that an Israeli custom worker resents the (often wealthy) North American immigrant getting his new car tax-free?

Perhaps the North American immigrant does have a lot to offer — but a superior and uncompromising attitude is best left in America with the rest of his superfluous baggage. ALISON SOLOMON Lod.

### UNDERMINING THE IDF

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I refer to Marsha Pomerantz's interviews with members and organizers of the *Yesh Gvul* movement in your Rosh Hashana issue and in particular to the statement made by them that they had declined to go to the recent Geneva Conference promoted by the Arabs because they saw no possibility to convince anyone there.

I believe that the *Yesh Gvul*'s decision was quite judicious as their trip would have been totally superfluous. In fact, all the people who count in the Arab world, all the leaders and chieftains including Yasser Arafat and President Assad, are thoroughly convinced already and do not need to receive further reassurances that the *Yesh Gvul* movement and its worthy associate *Shalom Achshav* are doing an excellent job on their behalf both in

Israel and abroad. The rot which has sapped the fabric of many an army in the course of mankind's history, the malignant cancer which, in a classic example of unspeakable ignominy, caused the disintegration of the French army in 1940 and almost succeeded then in bringing about the collapse of an entire civilization, has now begun to attack the IDF.

When will the responsible authorities decide to employ the appropriate measures required to contain effectively the spread of the disease? When will they take the necessary steps to neutralize successfully those who are actively engaged in undermining the only valid guarantee we have of the survival of Israel?

Rishon LeZion. RENE MODIANO

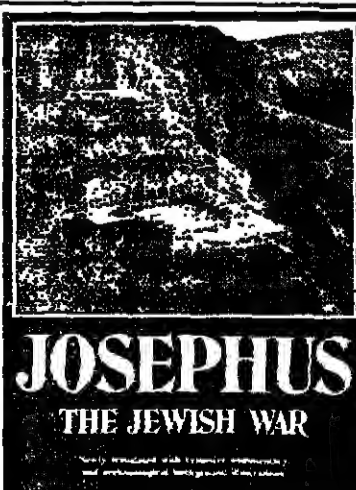
### HERZLIYA EYESORE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I wish to draw the attention of the responsible authority to the disgusting lack of cleanliness around the inter-urban bus stop at Herzliya on the highway. Cigarette cartons, disposable cans and plastic bottles litter the area. We pay lip service only to the idea of a Beautiful Israel. Not only the location just mentioned, but both sides of the highway at least as far as Hadera are an absolute eyesore and no credit to us in the eyes of visitors and tourists.

In the last two years or so, only once have I seen the Herzliya bus stop cleaned up. Now we are being treated to flower beds at all sorts of unexpected and unnecessary intersections instead of concentrating on the basics of giving the residents the new roads they need and maintaining properly those we have.

It should not be left to the last

moments before municipal elections for these omissions to be rectified, only to allow these conditions to re-occur and stay with us till the next election. Herzliya. M. SHIFRIN



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## RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

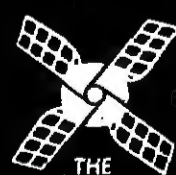
To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — I wish to correct an error made by Mr. Eliezer Whartman in his article, "Path to piety" (September 7). He wrote that Congregation Mevakshei Derech "...has not received one agora in assistance from the Jerusalem Religious Council or the Ministry of Religious Affairs for the building of its synagogue..." The fact is that the ministry, in February and May of this year, approved funds for this purpose. While it is true that less than a quarter of the promised amount has been received thus far, the goodwill of the Ministry is appreciated by our congregation.

I wish also to correct an impression that might have been left among some readers by Mr. Whartman's criticisms of several passages in traditional Jewish worship. Some of the sections he mentions or criticizes, like references to Israel's chosenness, the angelology, *Unetaneh Tokef*, *Makhuvei*, *Zichronot* and *Shofarot*, continue to be recited in our services. While we in Mevakshei Derech are dedicated to intellectual honesty, we continue to search for the symbolic and poetic possibilities that reside in many of the prayers, that have come to us out of another universe of discourse. On this subject there is much room for debate; and such debate, accompanied by serious study, goes on continually in our forums. Mr. Whartman's opinions on some of the matters discussed in his article, have not become the norm for Mevakshei Derech.

Rabbi JACK J. COHEN  
Jerusalem.

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